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MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1528

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## CONTENTS

Personnel: Managing the Military Collective (V. Kovalev; KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, Apr 80).....	1
Political Indoctrination: Indoctrinators' Effectiveness Reviewed (KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, Apr 80).....	11
Political Indoctrination: Comments on 'Imperialist Bloc Policy' (A. Migolat'yev; KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, Apr 80).....	21
Political Indoctrination: China as a Military Threat (Yu. Petrov; KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, Apr 80).....	32
Victory Day Article: Army General Mayorov (A. Mayorov; KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII, Apr 80).....	47
Victory Day Article: Colonel General Voloshin (I. Voloshin; KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII, Apr 80).....	52
United Nations Armed Forces: Role Described (A. Kozyrev; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 1 Jul 80).....	55
Book Review: Memoirs of Military Justice Officer (V. Maslov; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 16 Jul 80).....	58
Victory Day Articles by Mar SU Ogarkov, Gen Yepishev (Various sources, May 80).....	60
Article by Marshal Ogarkov	
Article by General Yepishev	

Veterans' Benefits: Additional Benefits (L. Ya. Florentyev; STEPNNYE PROSTORY, May 80).....	77
Victory Day Article: Admiral Sorokin (A.I. Sorokin; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, May 80).....	79



PERSONNEL: MANAGING THE MILITARY COLLECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 80 signed to press  
18 Mar 80 pp 50-57

[Article by Col V. Kovalev, candidate of psychological sciences: "The Military Collective: Problems of Social Control"; passages enclosed in slant-lines printed in boldface]

[Text] The article is recommended for use in the commander's officer training system when studying the subject "Socio-Psychological Problems in Controlling the military collective."

The new historic and international community of people--the Soviet people--which has now formed in our country is a system of collectives which is a single whole in its social nature and in the vital activity of which the various types of social relations receive many-sided refraction. A socialist collective, linking the personality with society, includes it directly in the system of social interaction and intercourse and exerts a powerful and comprehensive indoctrinational influence on it. The increase in the role and expansion of labor collectives' social functions received legislative confirmation in the Basic Law of a developed socialist society--the new Soviet constitution. "Society's entire life--economic, political, and spiritual--is reflected in the labor collective, in the work of its party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations," stresses Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "In essence, it is the primary cell not only of our entire economic organism, but also of the political organism" ("Leninskim kursom" [Following the Lenin Course], Vol 6, p 520).

In pointing to the necessity to continue efforts for the spiritual solidarity of the Soviet people and the molding of an active life's position in them, the CPSU Central Committee's decree, "On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work," requires the persistent search for ways to improve the indoctrinational functions of collectives, strengthen a favorable moral-political climate in them, and create an atmosphere of devotion to principle and demandingness and attention to each person. This also puts forth new tasks in the field of social control of the collectives, and this also means the steady improvement of ideological-theoretical training and the

psychological-pedagogical style of the leader. "The contemporary leader," it was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, "should combine organically within himself party spirit with profound competence and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the matter. At the same time, on any sector the leader is also required to consider the socio-political and indoctrinational aspects, to be sensitive toward people and their needs and demands, and to serve as an example in work and in private life" ("Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], p. 70).

In its social-political nature, the military collective is a special variety of a socialist labor collective. Consequently, the social control of its vital activity is also organized on principles which are peculiar to our society as a whole. At the same time, the specific nature of military activity attaches a unique combat-morale directionality to the entire complex of socio-control tasks and presumes the use of special methods and forms of indoctrinational work.

Any collective is a complex totality and unique complex of various social relations in the system of which all types of practical and spiritual activity of people--labor, knowledge, and association--are realized. And just as such joint activity is unthinkable without the preliminary conformity and coordination of the activity of all the collective's members, so do the social relations themselves become an object of organization and control. And if we consider here that each person proceeds from the goals, interests, and motives for behavior which he realizes in his daily activity, it becomes clear how complex and many-faceted the tasks of social control are and how closely they are connected with the psychological-pedagogical problems in molding the personality and the rallying of the collective. In essence, social control of the collective is a continuous process of the development and strengthening of the unity of social relations which are based on the profound realization of the goals of joint activity by each member of the collective and on comradely collaboration and mutual assistance.

Social relations which arise in the collective possess a complex internal nature. Summing up within themselves all types of material and ideological social relations, they are realized in daily human contacts engendered by joint activity and the community of people. At the same time, all levels of social interests are refracted in them in some way or other--from directly personal to the interests of the class and society as a whole. This special feature of intracollective relations is manifested most clearly under conditions of military activity because its goals in our society are close to each Soviet person in equal measure. "The defense of the socialist fatherland," the constitution of the USSR proclaims, "pertains to the most important functions of the state and is a matter for the entire people."

/Solidarity/, which reflects the measure of intragroup unity and the degree of identity of ideas and unity of action of the collective members steps forth as the general indicator of the harmonious combination of all types and forms of social relations in the collective. The fundamental differences in

the positions of Soviet and bourgeois scientists are discovered in the explanation of the essence of solidarity and the mechanisms of its development and strengthening.

Bourgeois sociology considers solidarity primarily as the result of the direct emotional-psychological "gravitation" of people toward one another, leaving outside the limits of its analysis everything that one way or another characterizes the similarity or difference in their basic class interests and political views and convictions. The limitedness of this point of view needs no proof. Ideological "blindness" which do not permit seeing the irreconcilability of the class positions of people who stand at opposite social poles in an antagonistic society clearly hinder bourgeois scientists in stepping over the narrow framework of psychologism in disclosing the essence of social relations.

Soviet scientists consider solidarity as one of the most important criteria of the unity of a socialist collective's members at all levels of social relations. This is why the content of this concept cannot be derived directly from the tasks of intragroup activity. It has as its main source the ideals and interests of one class or another and, under our conditions--of the entire socialist society. Appearing recently before the electors of the Bauman election district of the city of Moscow, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called the further strengthening of the Soviet people's solidarity the main trend in the development of social relations in recent years. "Solidarity, the unity of society," he noted, "is the unique property of socialism, our priceless and boundless strength."

The solidarity of the Soviet people as an integral socialist collective is characterized primarily by each society member's profound realization of the goals of communist construction. On this level, it is manifested within the most generalized forms possible as the Soviet people's common understanding of their civil and military duty, the norms of a socialist community, principles of communist morals and morality, and the personal responsibility of each one for the fate of his fatherland and the defense of the cause of socialism and peace on earth. At subsequent stages of collective organization--right up to the primary labor and military collective--the concept of solidarity acquires ever more specific forms, reflecting in the consciousness of the personality the process of its joining with specific types of professional-labor and social activity and inclusion in various service-functional and personal, emotional-psychological contacts and ties.

This, the /solidarity of the military collective/ steps forth as the basic indicator of its social maturity and, at the same time, as the most important precondition for the effective accomplishment of tasks which are caused by its main object-purpose function--to be the reliable instrument for the armed protection and defense of the socialist fatherland. Consequently, the solidarity of the military collective comprises the most important goal of social control. Just what is the social-psychological mechanism for the inclusion of the personality in the intracollective structure and its joining with the collective?

Let us note first of all that the personality always steps forward as a specific carrier of completely specific functions, duties, and social roles caused by common collective goals and tasks. In this sense, the collective can influence the practical activity and behavior of the personality in three ways. First, it molds standard notions of its behavior in one role or another and is a /model/ for imitation. Second, encouraging the following of these examples or condemning deviation from them, the collective creates an harmonious /system of incentives/ which increase the service and public activity of the personality. Third, the collective accomplishes an /estimate/ of specific deeds of the personality and monitoring the quality of its performance of functional duties and the observance of moral standards.

The influence of the collective is also extremely great and multiplanned in the sphere of the personality's spiritual life. Entering into interaction with collective orientations and value concepts and views, the personality's spiritual world undergoes profound internal changes. How great the convincing force of group opinion is and how infectious the attitudes and feelings which predominate in a specific environment are are well known. And if, in this case, the collective is able to experience the successes and failures of each serviceman with him sincerely and display a lively interest in his personal affairs and concerns, the joining of the personality with the spiritual aspirations of the collective will become extremely effective and active.

The company collectives possess especially broad indoctrinational possibilities. It is namely in them that the processes of rallying people, discovering the necessary measure of unity of action, and not simply the "summation" but the integration and fusing of human characters and aspirations proceed with greatest intensity. Subunits at the company level ensure the constant contact of the servicemen and the living emotional-psychological intercourse which strengthens interpersonality ties. At the same time, the company also possesses a sufficiently broad organizational structure and system of social control. The officers and sergeants accomplish the comprehensive leadership of the men's vital activity on the basis of one-man command. The majority of companies have party organizations and groups which comprise the nucleus of intracollective solidarity. The company Komsomol organizations unite up to 90 percent of the personnel in their ranks. The local agitation-propaganda activists are also found in the subunits--the leaders of the political lessons and their assistants, agitators, members of the Lenin room councils, and activists of the wall newspaper, amateur talent activities, and mass sports work. Figuratively speaking, the company is that work site where a youth who has stepped across the threshold of the army barracks becomes a soldier, forming and polishing in his character those properties and features which correspond to the requirements of military activity to the greatest degree.

Since the basic spheres in the vital activity of the men are combat training and service, public work and everyday living, social relations in the collective seem to develop in three interconnected planes--service-functional, public-organizational, and interpersonality, domestic. Service-functional relations in the Armed Forces are organized on a strictly legal basis, one-man command, discipline, and the high personal responsibility of each



serviceman for the accomplishment of his functional duties. Public-organizational relations which ensure social contacts of the men in the field of party and Komsomol work, sports, and cultural leisure time are regulated on different bases. Interpersonality relations of comradeship and friendship are distinguished by their principles and norms. Here, as a rule, the same person is the bearer of several social roles which include him in different systems of intracollective relations. Thus, the skill of social control consists of combining, coordinating, and molding all these types of relations in accordance with the requirements of military regulations and the traditions of the Armed Forces' way of life. Let us examine the problems in molding each of the indicated types of social relations from this standpoint.

/Service-functional relations/ ensure the subordination and coordination of the servicemen's contact and activity in the process of their accomplishment of their direct functional duties. Contemporary soldierly labor imposes extremely high demands on the military collective. "In improving the combat ability of the personnel," points out member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Minister of Defense, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, "we should be concerned not only for the good personal state of training of the individual serviceman, but also for the high level of combat coordination of the military collectives as a whole: the crew, section, subunit, unit, and ship. The development dialectics of our Armed Forces are such that they are being equipped more and more with crew-served weapons for the employment of which clearly coordinated and rapid actions of the personnel are required" ("Izbrannyye rechi i stat'yi" [Selected Speeches and Articles], p 395).

Success of collective action is caused in considerable measure by the experience and skills of group work, professional mutual understanding, and the combat coordination of the men. On the other hand, the complexity of contemporary armament and equipment and the multicategory nature of specialist training in the subunits poses for the officer with special acuteness the task of finding those methods for the combat training of the personnel which would further the molding of collective combat skill. Hence arises the necessity for the well thought-out organization of the men's /system of mutual assistance/ and the active involvement of the entire military collective in the training-indoctrinational process.

In raising the role of the collective as a factor in the /professional-combat solidarity/ of the men, the pedagogically expedient organization of competition has great significance. The interconnections which arise between the men in the course of accomplishing socialist obligations should be organized with consideration of the subunit's organizational structure. Experience shows that the effect of competition becomes considerably greater when the men who are competing with one another perform the same or conjugate functions, possess approximately equal levels of qualification, and interact directly in the process of combat training and service. Competition of the missilemen is organized exactly in this way in the subunit where Senior Lieutenant B. Timkov serves (Red Banner Central Asian Military District). A high

competative effect is attained here on each trip to the field, combined lesson, and drill. The sections compete for the quality accomplishment of the standards for combat work for each operation separately and in combination. Competitions of the best men who show themselves to be models of soldierly labor, in which regard not only in their authorized combat specialties but also in allied specialties, are practiced regularly. The drill lessons of the missilemen abound with various tactical and technical special situations. The winners of the competition are given the honored right to be the first to begin the accomplishment of a new, difficult exercise or launch a missile. Involvement of the subunit's entire collective in the active training process and reliance on the competition leaders and training experts contribute to the most rapid entry of the young servicemen in the combat formation.

The effectiveness of the collective's indoctrinational influences on the process of the men's combat training is directly dependent on the level of the officer's requirements for his subordinates' knowledge and professional-combat qualities. The measure of command demandingness makes for the public prestige of the expert in combat training and his status in the collective as a specialist and master of military affairs. Naturally, therefore, any attempt to "improve" the subunit's general indices in combat training by the unsubstantiated raising of grades has an extremely negative effect on the collective notions of the men's attitude standards toward soldierly labor. As a result, the level and quality of assimilation of knowledge by the subunit personnel are inevitably reduced.

/Public-organizational relations/ encompass the broad field of party, Kom-somol, and agitational-propaganda work and the spiritual life of the military collective. The development of these relations and the /social-political solidarity/ of the personnel are furthered by daily purposeful information, propagandist, and political-indoctrinational work in the military collective. Recreated by its means, the broad panorama of social-political events and the military-political situation which has formed in the world helps the personnel of the subunit and unit to see the world in all the complexity and contrasts of the contemporary international situation and the most acute antagonism of different social systems. Significance of no less importance is had by the broad illumination of our country's life, the successes of the Soviet people in communist construction, and the urgent problems of the Soviet Armed Forces personnel in training and service. All this permits each man to instill within himself political vigilance, volitional self-collection, and the striving and readiness to make a maximum contribution to the common cause. In this case, the skill of the propagandist and indoctrinator is manifested in his ability to tie the common goals of military activity organically with the daily combat-training life of his subunit in the collective consciousness.

Just what assistance can the collective give the officer in the ideological-indoctrinational work and social-political solidarity of the men and how can his indoctrinational function be manifested concretely? It is well known



that the perception of information comprises an important but, by no means, the only precondition for the formation of social orientations and convictions of the personality. A tremendous role is played here by the emotional-psychological factor--the internal aiming at the assimilation of new knowledge, its evaluation from positions of convictions and feelings which have already been formed, and a comparison with the views of one's associates, primarily those whose opinion a given personality considers especially authoritative for himself. In accordance with our observations, in the majority of cases timely public-political information becomes a subject for comprehensive discussion in the collective. Each man exchanges the news with four to five of his fellow-servicemen. Moreover, interpersonality information contact often becomes a primary information source for a considerable number of men. The collective opinion stimulates their cognitive activity and contributes to the expansion of spiritual horizons.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement of ideological and political-indoctrinational work," points to the necessity for the formation of a /moral-political climate/ in the collective. This concept, in our opinion, reflects most completely the level, direction, intensity, and emotional-psychological saturation of spiritual contact as well as the informational contacts in the collective in connection with the urgent public-political events of contemporaneity. The moral-political climate characterizes the overall position of the collective in comprehending and evaluating these events in accordance with our communist ideals and moral principles and the resolute hostility of the influences which are hostile to them and which are being spread by the propaganda machine of imperialism as well as the Beijing chauvinists and aggressors.

In the formation of the moral-political climate, great significance is had by the officer's skillful selection of those methods, means, and forms of information-propaganda and indoctrinational work which are directed toward the development of socio-political and moral orientations of the collective and an active public opinion. These are--question and answer soirees, talks at a political map of the world, debates, and thematic meetings with veterans of the revolution and the war and figures of science, literature, and art. It is only necessary that these indoctrinational measures be free of the tarnish of formalism, conventionalism, the repetition of common truths, and wordy jabbering. Informative saturation, convincingness of arguments, and confidentiality of tone in contact with the audience are the guarantee of their high effectiveness. In addition to the direct indoctrinational effect, these measures are also extremely valuable in the plane of study, the purposeful molding of collective opinion, and the strengthening in it of those qualities which were discussed above.

The profound study of V. I. Lenin's works and his teaching about the defense of the socialist fatherland has especially important significance in the spiritual molding of the men. Here is how this work is organized in the sub-unit where the deputy commander for political affairs is Lieutenant A. Chlebnuk (Red Banner Far East Military District). The company communists strive to develop in the men an interest in the independent study of the

words of V. I. Lenin by all forms of political-indoctrinational work. Lenin readings are conducted regularly in the unit; a study group on the study of the leader's biography is functioning; meetings and excursions are organized, competitions of papers are conducted, and showcases devoted to the life and activity of Lenin are prepared. A library of Lenin's works has been assembled in the company. It should be stressed that not only the Komsomol activists but also all the men take an active part in the conduct of all these measures.

*'Interpersonal relations'* in the military collective are distinguished by great variety and are one of the most complex, dynamic structures of the intracollective organization. It can be asserted conclusively: whatever aspect of the collective's life may be touched by one event or another, it is reflected in the system of personal relations without fail. Any changes in the composition of the collective become an incentive for the complex processes of restructuring the interconnections which have been organized, "polishing" characters, and establishing new contacts. On the other hand, the dynamics of personal relations have a great influence on the effectiveness of the men's soldierly labor and on their successes in service.

The most important precondition for effective control of the collective's processes of social-psychological work is the strengthening of a healthy social climate in it is the officer's deep knowledge of his subordinates' individual qualities and the structure and direction of their interrelations. The main source of this knowledge is constant contacts with the men, observation of their behavior in real-life situations, personal attendance at party and Komsomol meetings, talks with the activists, and the study of the reactions of the collective opinion to various instances of moral relations. To learn to analyze correctly these observations of his and to give them a correct pedagogical evaluation is one of the most difficult tasks facing the commander and political officer.

However experienced the teacher may be in the study of his pupils' qualities, he will never know as much about them as the entire collective knows. And this is understandable, because the collective has "many eyes." But, we add, also a great number of viewpoints, approaches to one person or another, and motives in evaluating the features of his character. This is why it is so important to be objective and impartial in analyzing the opinion of people "reflected" by group consciousness. Here, the subordinates should be taught to judge each other's deeds openly, directly and impartially, and in an interested, benevolent, and comradely manner. Neglect of this requirement always threatens serious complications in intracollective relations.

Only the basic directions and problems in the social control of the military collective have been examined above. Naturally, they cannot exhaust the entire variety of specific tasks which face commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations in this important area of indoctrinational work. It is clear, however, that all these tasks can be accomplished effectively only on the paths of an integrated approach and in a single system of forms and methods of ideological, military, and moral indoctrination of

the personnel. And since the serviceman's personality is molded by the entire totality of intracollective relations, in joint practical activity with others, the mechanism of the indoctrinational process by necessity presumes pedagogically organized interaction and contact of the men which are directed by the commander. A special role in this mechanism is played by /collective opinion/ through which one's associates exert their direct influence on the personality. The molding of such an opinion is an important aspect of social-psychological control.

Representing a specific fusion of appraising judgements and views which are common or which predominate in the subunit, the collective opinion reacts sensitively to the behavior of each man, "weighing" his personal bit for the common cause. The maturity of collective opinion is caused by the measure of its conformance with the official requirements and tasks of the subunit's activity, generally accepted social norms, and principles of communist morality. The qualitative characteristics of collective opinion are its direction, stability, firmness against any type of negative influences, activity of expression, and flexibility of response with suddenly changing situations of intracollective life.

The process of molding collective opinion is virtually continuous, for any new information which affects the interests of the collective in one way or another becomes an object of group discussion and evaluation. As studies have shown, the collective orientations and aims which arise in the group consciousness possess a powerful regulating influence on the behavior of the personality. Thus, for example, if the striving of the collective to attain the title of outstanding subunit becomes a generally accepted value orientation, all actions of the collective's members which meet this task will be approved by solid collective opinion. The mechanisms of the indoctrinational influences on the personality are also beginning to act in this direction: the corresponding examples of actions and behavior are encouraged, service and training activity of the men is being stimulated, and public control is being implemented. In a similar manner, the opinion of one's associates also influences the structure of the personality's interests and its life's position as a whole.

Of course, the ideal model of the group opinion which is functioning in the collective looks like this. In real life, certain "malfunctions," the opposition of different views and estimates, and at times even conflict situations may arise in these complex processes. Thus, for example, illegal claims of the personality to one role or another in the collective and the violation of moral norms of behavior come in conflict with the aims of collective opinion and are repudiated by it. The development of conflict situations may become complicated by the dissociation of the collective and the incompatibility of the positions of microgroups which pursue individual goals and interests. The role of the leader--commander and political officer-- in molding and rallying collective opinion and attaching to it that direction which stimulates the creative energy of subordinates in the accomplishment of the tasks which face the subunit becomes completely obvious from this.

utilizing the capabilities for the indoctrinational effect of collective opinion in the proper manner and relying on it in work with the personnel, at the same time the officer should also consider its special features such as a certain sluggishness and susceptibility to the influence of negative socio-psychological stereotypes in which past experience and an accustomed style of life and activity are settled in a stereotyped manner at times. Certain customs and traditions which make the life of the collective considerably more complex and reduce the effectiveness of its activity often prove to have great vitality in the collective consciousness. It also happens that the collective attitude is infected with the "virus" of complacency and boasting, and in other instances--indifference toward the common success and a lack of confidence in their own strength. A healthy moral-psychological climate and a spirit of a responsible attitude toward matters and of mutual demandingness must constantly be maintained among the personnel by the purposeful efforts of the commander, political officer, and party and Komsomol organizations.

An especially important role in setting the general tone of intracollective life is played by the moral authority of the officer, his personal example in devotion to duty, ideological conviction, professional style, and pedagogical tact. The process of controlling the activity of people and intracollective relations is a complex and extremely difficult art. K. Marx figuratively compared the leader with a conductor who is conducting a large and coordinated orchestra. We also can liken the work of the army indoctrinator and commander to the actions of a conductor with full justification. His profound knowledge of his subordinates, stubborn and persistent labor on their training and indoctrination, and high psychological-pedagogical style are the most reliable guarantee of the successful accomplishment of the important missions which are facing him.

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## POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION: INDOCTRINATORS' EFFECTIVENESS REVIEWED

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 80 signed to press  
18 Mar 80 pp 64-71

[Article: "Master the Art of Propaganda Persistently"; summing up the discussion of the article: "The Propagandist: Responsibility and Creativity"]

[Text] Last September, our Journal published an article by a propagandist of a surface-to-air missile regiment, Captain V. Fesik, "The Propagandist: Responsibility and Creativity." It dwelled on questions connected with the activity of propagandists in satisfying the requirements of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work," in particular the propositions that the "propagandists and ideological workers must possess a sense of lofty responsibility for the content and results of indoctrinational work and a creative search for new forms and methods in working with people." The editors of the Journal turned to the propagandist activists with the suggestion that they discuss Captain V. Fesik's article, share their thoughts concerning the questions touched on in it, develop and supplement them, and tell about their own work experience. The readers responded to this suggestion in a lively manner. An important and interesting conversation took place.

Interest in this subject is completely understandable and justified. The propagandists are the ideological fighters of the party. They are molding a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in the personnel as well as boundless devotion to the cause of the Leninist party and communist ideals, a sense of love for the socialist fatherland, and a lofty sense of responsibility for ensuring the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and the defense of socialism's historic achievements. The attainment of a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation in the Armed Forces, the strengthening of its efficiency and specific nature, and ties with life and with all the men's practical tasks depend on them to a great degree. The activity of the military propagandists is acquiring even greater significance in connection with the party's requirements to intensify the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces and to multiply the glorious traditions of the Armed Forces, service in which is a remarkable school of labor and military ability, moral purity and bravery, patriotism and comradeship. This is why an exchange of opinions on ways for

a further improvement in quality and raising the effectiveness of ideological indoctrinational work in light of the party's instructions, and on the role and place of the propagandists in this important matter found an ardent response among those who have been entrusted with the task to temper the personnel ideologically and indoctrinate them in a comprehensive manner.

In satisfying the requirements of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work," and the recommendations of the All-Union Conference of Ideological Personnel, Armed Forces propagandists are concentrating their efforts on the profound explanation of the Lenin ideological-theoretical heritage, the urgent problems of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, successes in implementing the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet constitution, the works and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and his books, "Aktual'nyye voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty KPSS" [Urgent Problems in the Ideological Work of the CPSU], "Na strazhe mira i sotsializma" [Guarding Peace and Socialism], and memoirs "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Renaissance], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. Considering the men's tremendous interest in the speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at a pre-election meeting of workers of the Bauman election district of Moscow, the official and unofficial propagandists now devote special attention to the propagandizing and explanation of the provisions and conclusions of this most important document which contains a profound analysis of the successes attained by the country and of the next tasks and the contemporary international situation. It also determines the main paths for further social-economic progress and summons us for new achievements. An important place in the work of the propagandists is occupied by preparations for the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, the 35th anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War, and the forthcoming 26th Party Congress.

The skill of the propagandist is primarily the skill to convince and the ability to have an active influence on the consciousness and behavior of people, mobilizing them for the accomplishment of practical tasks. The effectiveness of propaganda is unthinkable without its high scientific nature, aggressiveness, and link with life. These subjects are analyzed in detail in the articles of Colonel N. Dayko, "Main Link," and Major V. Petrov, "The Pulse of Life and the Pulse of Propaganda."

The scientific nature of propaganda presumes a profound and well-reasoned examination of urgent problems in the party's theory and policy. Neither a play on scientific terms nor a declarative proclamation of truths, but a clear, intelligible and conclusive explanation of the most difficult questions--this is what arouses the thoughts of people and stimulates them toward independent thought and independent analysis of events and phenomena of public life. Any propagandist presentation should be permeated with the basic ideas of Marxist-Leninist theory, evaluate events of domestic and international life from party and class positions, and correspond to the level of contemporary scientific knowledge.



The authors of the articles note that in the present situation of acute ideological antagonism between the forces of socialism and capitalism special significance is acquired by the development of an aggressive nature by our propaganda and agitation. The aggressiveness of ideological work is intensified, undoubtedly, if the exposure of imperialism's apologists, the advocates of the "cold war" and their stooges, and the hypocritical defenders of the "rights" and "freedom" of man, the concoctions of the "Soviet military threat," and other slanderous campaigns is accompanied by a demonstration of the tireless struggle by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth for the strengthening of peace and international security and by the propagandizing of the great achievements and advantages of real socialism and the Soviet way of life. Our duty, it says in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement in ideological and political-instructional work," is to oppose the subversive political and ideological activity of the class enemy and his malicious slander against socialism by steadfast solidarity, the mighty ideological unity of its ranks, and the deep conviction and political vigilance of each Soviet person and his readiness to defend the motherland and socialism's revolutionary achievements.

One of the manifestations of aggressive propaganda is the efficient informing of the personnel concerning the most important events in the international arena. "It is time to work in such a way," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, "that information on international affairs is presented more efficiently, understandably, and saturated with specific facts and that international commentaries proceed, as they say, not on the scent of events and generalize them. Not a repetition of copy-book truths, but a profound, well-reasoned analysis of the facts of international life--this is what we need!"

The party requires the intensification of the effectiveness and specific nature of propaganda and agitation and its tie with life and the accomplishment of practical tasks. This obliges the propagandists of the Armed Forces to conduct ideological work in an organic connection with the tasks of combat and political training of the personnel and raising the combat readiness of the troops and naval forces. The propagandists are called upon to assist each serviceman to realize that his soldierly labor is just as necessary for the motherland as the creative labor of the worker and peasant and that successes in combat training and maintaining combat readiness are his personal contribution to the building of a communist society. It is the honorable duty of the propagandists to see that knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy are converted to firm ideological convictions among the servicemen, to an active life's position, and contribute to the exemplary accomplishment of military duty and the raising of vigilance and constant readiness to crush any aggressor.

In the published responses to the article by Captain V. Fesik, it is stressed that to be the political teacher of servicemen and a propagandist of Lenin ideas and the theory and policy of the CPSU is a matter of the highest measure of responsibility. It requires knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, methodological skill, and the ability to employ theoretical propositions

representatives for the upbringing of politically conscious, ideologically convinced, and steadfast defenders of the motherland. Everyone knows the simple truth: in order to teach and indoctrinate others, one must himself learn consistently and persistently, supplement his knowledge and expand his horizon continuously, and master pedagogical skills and propagandist ability. The secret of the propagandist's maturity and the guarantee of his fruitful activity are also hidden in the organic unity of ideological-theoretical knowledge and methodological skill and the ability to convince.

In their responses, the authors of the articles note that well-trained youth is now coming to the Armed Forces. Many soldiers, seamen, sergeants, and petty officers are yesterday's graduates of secondary schools, technical schools, and vocational and technical schools, youths with comprehensive and fresh knowledge, broad-minded, inquisitive, and searching. The attention of such an audience can be captured and its lofty spiritual demands can be satisfied only by propagandists who possess a broad range of knowledge and are able to reach the mind and heart of the serviceman. And knowledge, as is known, is attained by stubborn and persistent labor and, first of all, by self-education and systematic and purposeful work with books. It is namely in the process of self-education, in studying the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the decisions of the CPSU, and other party documents that the skills are generated to get to the depth of revolutionary theory and the ability to think independently is developed. And this has primary significance for the propagandist. In a well-known lecture on the state V. I. Lenin, turning to the students, pointed out that they will be able to consider themselves sufficiently firm in their convictions and defend them with sufficient success before anyone and any time only when and if they develop the ability to approach questions and examine them independently.

Using specific examples, comrades N. Aksamentov, A. Demidov, N. Deyko, and others who took part in the discussion disclose the instructive work experience of the best propagandists. These fighters have a sense of responsibility for the results of their labor which is inseparably linked with the striving continuously to expand their political and cultural horizon and improve skills in indoctrinational work. It is this which forms the basis of their successful activity.

In the article, "The Lecturer and the Audience," the propagandist of a political section, Major N. Aksament, shares his thoughts on the content and procedure for public presentations. He notes correctly that what the men await from the lecturer is not the repetition of well-known truths and not exhortations, but the creative understanding of urgent problems and the speaker's own attitude toward the subject of the presentation, that which he has personally divulged and considered and has been prompted by his knowledge of life, strained mental work, and his heart. And all this should be transmitted using words. Therefore, in order to perform his duties successfully the propagandist must constantly master the weapon of words, polish it, and comprehend the style of speaking before an audience. As the author

written, Guards Colonel M. Yermoyev skillfully masters the word and skill of propaganda. Depth of ideological content, clarity of formulations, and convincing argumentation are combined in his presentations with a clear, lively, and often witty exposition. The listeners leave his lectures in an elevated mood, enriched with important thoughts, and directed toward selfless military labor.

The senior instructor of a political section for propaganda and agitation, Lieutenant Colonel V. Gerasimov, continued the discussion on the art of word mastery and the procedure for public presentations in the article, "Today--Lecture." In it, he thoroughly analyzes the content and procedure of a lecture given by Captain V. Antipov and he shares his observations on its merits and shortcomings. He leads the reader to the conclusion that the success of presentation depends not only on knowledge of a subject, but also on an ability to present it and report to the listeners intelligibly and impressively. Each lesson must contain both a cognitive goal and a mobilizing force.

Sharing their opinions on the content and style of presentations on social-political subjects, many participants in the discussion dwelled on the ability of the propagandist to speak with people in a simple and intelligible language, including a lively thought and feelings in each sentence. Here, they recall V. I. Lenin's instruction "to speak simply and clearly, in a language accessible to the mass, decisively rejecting the heavy artillery of abstruse terms" and cite numerous statements of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on this question. It is appropriate to recall, for example, his words from a speech at the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee:

"And, comrades, a little less showiness and hallyhoo, a little less of what V. I. Lenin called 'political jabbering.' Conversation with Soviet people should be frank, serious, and well reasoned. We are called upon to do this by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, 'On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work.' Party propaganda and party agitation should be as objective as possible and should answer all questions which disturb people convincingly and with knowledge of the subject."

At times we must regret, Guards Major N. Kasantov notes correctly, that some of our propagandists forget or simply do not consider the special features of a youth audience which loves a pointed remark, a clear comparison, and a joke. But you see, if they are employed wisely the presentation immediately acquires that vitality which helps in the better assimilation of theoretical formulations and the tasks which are to be accomplished.

Other propagandists also write about the use of artistic models and expressive means of language in a speech and about giving it a great emotional character. They stress that a lecture, report, and talk influence not only the mind, but also the feelings and attitudes of people. Shining examples of artistic literature and works of art, popular sayings and proverbs, popular expressions and words, apt epithets, and graphic comparisons create tangible, visual pictures, provide food for imagination, stimulate thought, and contribute to the best assimilation and consolidation of a thought.

Technical means of propaganda influence the consciousness and feelings of people. The skillful employment of the cinema, radio, television, film strips and slides, and sound recording equipment creates a positive emotional mood and increases the effectiveness of the measures conducted. However, as the participants in the discussion write, in some units and on some ships the capabilities of technical propaganda means are far from completely utilized. Many lecturers and leaders of group political lessons, for example, still have recourse to them rarely.

In our opinion, unquestioned value is had for propagandists and readers of the journal by an exchange of opinions which also took place on other questions of a methodological nature--is it necessary to write the text of a presentation and how to use it, how to establish contact with the audience, how to distribute efficiently the time allotted for a lecture or report, how to behave on the rostrum, and so forth.

"The success of political and economic training," it says in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work," "depends completely on the theoretical and methodological level of propagandist personnel." This proposition also pertains completely to the leaders of group political lessons. It is completely understandable because in the course of this discussion an important place was allotted to highlighting the activity of this numerous detachment of propagandists. For example, the presentations of Comrades A. Demidov, G. Polyakov, and M. Omel'chenko are devoted to their theoretical and methodological training.

In telling about the best political lesson group leaders of his unit, regimental propagandist Guards Senior Lieutenant A. Demidov notes that the constant striving to expand their political and cultural horizon and improve their pedagogical skills is inherent in all of them. The propagandists gradually developed the requirement to work on themselves daily--to read political, military, and artistic literature, newspapers, and journals. They learned to read with pencil in hand. When reading, they extract interesting thoughts, facts, and examples--everything that may come in handy when preparing and conducting political lessons and indoctrinational work with subordinates. In reading the newspapers notes are made and the most important propositions are singled out. Necessary materials are cut out and grouped according to the subjects of forthcoming lessons. It is mandatory to preserve newspapers in which materials of the CPSU Central Committee plenums, sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and other important documents are published. In order to be abreast of all events of domestic and international life, the propagandists attentively follow the information broadcast by radio and television. They also accumulate examples and facts from the life of the subunit or unit which then confirm theoretical propositions. All this enlivens the lessons and increases the listeners' interest in them.



To a decisive degree, the width of the propagandist's horizon depends on him himself, on his industriousness, personal organization, purposefulness, and persistence in political self-education. At the same time, we cannot belittle the organizational forms of ideological-theoretical and methodological training of the propagandists, either--assemblies and seminars, theoretical and methodological conferences, lectures and reports, group and individual consultations, and so forth. The article by Colonel G. Polyakov, "To Both Demand and to Teach," tells how these forms are used for training propagandists.

Seminars in one of the outstanding units of the Order of Lenin Moscow Air Defense District which are conducted with the leaders of political lesson groups serve as a genuine school of propagandist skill for them. Qualified lectures are given on the seminars on urgent problems of party theory and policy, decisions of the congresses and plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the successes of the Soviet people in communist construction and strengthening the country's defensive capability, and the special features of the ideological struggle in the world arena. The propagandists regularly present information on the development of the military-political situation in the world, news of science and technology, the course of combat training and the performance of combat duty, and the accomplishment of socialist obligations. Lectures are given for them by theoretically well trained communists, unit political officers, and officers of the higher political organ. The regimental commander or chief of staff appears before the group leaders on almost each seminar with the assignment of tasks and an analysis of the status of combat and political training. Great concern is manifested for the improvement of the group leaders' methodological skills. Experienced propagandists teach them how better to prepare and give a lecture, conduct a narration on a regular subject, organize the self-study of the listeners, and organize a seminar with them. On the seminars, the group leaders practice the exchange of propagandists' work experience. Examples of graphic aids are discussed.

A form for the mastery and introduction of leading experience which is known as open lessons is also widely employed in this unit. As a rule, they are organized five to seven days prior to the study of the subject in the majority of groups. The conduct of open lessons is entrusted to propagandists who have good theoretical and methodological training. Young political lesson group leaders who are given the opportunity to exchange opinions and experience already accumulated upon completion of the lesson are invited to it. In addition to the open lessons, the young group leaders visit each other's lessons. This permits them not only to adopt what is favorable, but also to seem to look at themselves from the side, compare their methodological procedures with those of their comrades, and to disclose their own omissions in the content and procedure of the lessons better.

Also favorable is the fact that the regimental commander, his deputy for political affairs, and official propagandist are constantly concerned that the group leaders are granted at least four hours per week for independent preparation for the next political lessons so that their self-study proceeds in an organized manner and under the direction of subunit political officers.

As reported in the articles of the participants in the discussion, instructive experience in work with the leaders of group political lessons has also been accumulated in many other units. However, party concern for the establishment and growth of this category of propagandists is still not genuinely manifested everywhere. In particular, this is evidenced by the correspondence published in the journal from the leader of a political lessons group, Guards Senior Lieutenant M. Omel'chenko, "What Help Do We Need?" With everything favorable which is done to train and indoctrinate the propagandists of the unit in which this officer serves, there were substantial shortcomings and omissions in the organization of their theoretical and methodological training here. Seminars with group leaders were often replaced by short briefings. Little attention was devoted to questions of the procedure for the conduct of political lessons. But the young propagandists have a special need for this. Lectures and reports to supplement the training plan for political lessons were given very rarely. Surveys of the latest political, military memoir, and artistic literature and periodicals were not practiced. There was not one theoretical and methodological conference for a year and no open lessons were conducted. Propagandists were not always granted service time to prepare for the next political lessons. There were shortcomings in providing the groups with textbooks and graphic aids and technical means of propaganda.

It is completely clear that such an attitude toward work with propagandists cannot be tolerated. The quality of the ideological tempering of the men suffers from this. "It is the duty of all party committees," it says in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work," "to select, teach, and indoctrinate propagandists skillfully and to surround them with daily concern and attention."

It should be said that the editors received a letter from the chief of the political section of the large unit in which Guards Senior Lieutenant M. Omel'chenko serves. It reports that the shortcomings noted in the correspondence, "What Help Do We Need?" have been eliminated. Measures are being adopted to improve work with group leaders, render them great assistance in preparing for political lessons, and impart propagandist skills to them. The political section intensified the check of the quality of seminars with unofficial propagandists. Regular self-preparation for the next political lessons during service time has been organized for them. The measures adopted in accordance with the correspondence, "What Help Do We Need?" contributed to the improvement of work with political lesson group leaders in other large units, too.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work," pointed out with special force that "each communist, wherever he may work, must step forth as a propagandist and champion of the Leninist party's ideas and give all his knowledge and all the strength of his soul to this exceptionally important matter." The broad participation of officer-communists in agitation-propaganda work



is related in many articles. For example, the article by a deputy regimental commander for political affairs, Guards Captain N. Kuz'menko, "Each One an Activist, Each One a Fighter," which presents the favorable work experience of the agitation-propaganda group with the regimental party committee, is devoted to this. Many of its members do not restrict themselves to giving lectures and reports in the subunits but actively assist in the conduct of Lenin readings, thematic soirees, readers' conferences, and question and answer soirees and they conduct individual indoctrinational work.

The practice of the leading personnel's direct participation in the political and military education of the personnel is unanimously supported in the articles and correspondence. The presentations of senior commanders and highly-qualified specialists in different fields of military affairs are always perceived with great interest and sound most ponderable. The direct contact between the leading officers and the rank and file and noncommissioned officers of the subunits when conducting common days of political lessons is especially important. Such contact is contributing to the comprehensive study of attitudes, demands, and suggestions of the men and to their mobilization for their exemplary performance of military duty.

The participants in the discussion note that after publication of the CPSU Central Committee's decree, "On further improvement in ideological and political-indoctrinational work," the forms of work with political information specialists and members of agitprop collectives and lecturer and agitation-propaganda groups became more varied in the large units and units and on the ships. In addition to seminars and instructional lessons, more theoretical interviews and consultations and surveys of the periodical press, social-political journals, and the latest literature have begun to be conducted with them. In the majority of units, unofficial propagandists are effectively informed about current events within the country and abroad, are assisted in the preparation of presentations, and the lectures which are presented are discussed and criticized. Thus, in the units where officers V. Bondarenko and N. Red'kin serve, talks were conducted with the propagandists on the books of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "Urgent Problems in the Ideological Work of the CPSU" and "Guarding Peace and Socialism." Lectures have been given on urgent problems of communist construction in our country, on the forms and methods of party propaganda, and on the Lenin art of political education. Unofficial propagandists took the lecture course on military pedagogy and psychology, the principles of oratory, and the procedure for self-education in propagandist skill.

As practice shows, and this is discussed in the articles of Colonel G. Polyakov and Guards Senior Lieutenant M. Omel'chenko, methodological offices created in the units and reference-information centers with the Officers Houses and officers clubs render great assistance to the propagandists in preparing for presentations. For example, the reference-information center whose work is organized by officers R. Borzov and I. Bankovskiy has become a good base for the training of unofficial propagandists. It is provided with the necessary political and reference literature. The complete collection

of V. I. Lenin's works, the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, social-political dictionaries, files of central newspapers and journals, and subject catalogs of articles from the periodic press are found here. Technical means of propaganda are used effectively here. At the service of the propagandists there are a television set, narrow-film movie camera, slide projector, tape recorder with a set of lecture recordings, electric record player with a set of gramophone records of V. I. Lenin's speeches and the speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and a large collection of film strips and slides on subjects for the political, military, legal, and moral indoctrination of the men. Thorough consultation can always be obtained in the reference-information center. Measures are conducted regularly which broaden the knowledge and expand the horizon of the unofficial propagandists and of all those who come here with questions and are interested in the news in the country's political life and abroad.

Lieutenant General of Aviation (retired) B. Yerevin took part in the discussion of Captain V. Fesik's article. In the correspondence, "A Word About Soldierly Exploits," he raises the question of the broad attraction of veterans of the Great Patriotic War to the indoctrination of the men in the glorious combat traditions of the Soviet Armed Forces and he shares his experience in indoctrinational work. Unquestionably, the veteran's suggestion deserves attention. It is especially timely now, on the eve of the 35th anniversary of our victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The discussion of the article by Captain V. Fesik, "The Propagandist: Responsibility and Creativity," on the pages of the journal overflowed into a collective creative search for optimum ways and reserves to raise the quality and effectiveness of ideological-indoctrinational work. It is believed that it will help the ideological fighters to master the skill of convincing even better and to carry the party's heartfelt word to the masses of men. The editors thank all official and unofficial propagandists who took part in this discussion and express the hope for their further collaboration in the journal.

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## POLITICAL INDISTERNATION: COMMENTS ON 'IMPERIALIST BLOC POLICY'

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Initiated by Prof A. Migul'shev, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor:  
"On Aggressive Essence of Imperialist Bloc Policy"]

Recent events have occurred in the international arena recently which again demonstrated with full force the aggressive nature of imperialism and its bloc policy and strategy. Among them are the NATO decision for the placement of new type of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe--the so-called "strategic" missiles-- which was adopted in December 1979; the unprecedented United States program of military preparations for the next five years put forth by President J. Carter; and the considerable increase in military expenditures in other participating countries of the North Atlantic bloc. In line with these events is the American president's decision to postpone for an undetermined time the Senate's consideration of the SALT-2 treaty, to halt unilaterally or reduce the export of American goods to the USSR, to postpone an entire series of Soviet-American talks which had been planned earlier, and to curtail economic and trade, scientific, and cultural ties.

The aggressive policy of imperialism is also shown by the United States' addition of its military presence in the northwestern part of the Indian Ocean and in the Near East, the course of the imperialist circles headed by the United States toward expanding the activity of NATO and other aggressive blocs, the further development of the Pentagon's base strategy, the ever closer cooperation of American imperialism and the Chinese hegemonists on anti-Soviet goals, and a number of other events and facts.

The imperialist course of world policeman to undermine detente and eliminate its achievements, to aggravate the international situation and return to the "cold war," and went in here, to the policy of "balancing on the edge of war," whose promotion is the foreign policy of the United States. It is a course of great-power competition, a doctrine of militant hegemony, and settling on the out of force in international relations which are being carried out by the United States under the banner of defense of its "vital national interests."

Washington initiated a vast worldwide program of struggle for world domination, including the most aggressive NATO circles and international reaction in it. The Carter administration finally capitulated to the military-industrial complex, the "hawks" thirsting for revenge for the fiasco in Indochina and their other defeats.

At the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's, the peoples of the world again encountered the chauvinistic imperialist policy of gross blackmail and irresponsible militarist actions, the increased threat to peace, the Pentagon's military-strategic adventurism, the sharply intensified arms race, and the dangerous actions of the American and Atlantic militarists which are directed toward undermining the level of security attained. All this led to the complication and aggravation of the international situation.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, noted at the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in 1989 that "a certain shift in the center of gravity of imperialism's strategy in the world arena is occurring" under the conditions of capitalism's deepening general crisis. "The policy of imperialism is being determined in ever greater measure by the class goals of the general struggle against world socialism, national-liberation revolutions, and the worker movement." The increase in imperialism's activity now confirms this profoundly substantiated conclusion with all obviousness. Guided by it, we can trace extremely clearly how, despite zigzags and various conjunctural metamorphoses of imperialist military policy and strategy caused by the special features of the specific historic stage, their general anticommunist, anti-Soviet direction is retained and the reactionary, aggressive features of this policy and strategy are reproduced and intensified.

The aggressive essence of imperialism's bloc policy finds its clear expression in the basic documents of strategic development adopted in NATO beginning in 1956, and in the military-political and strategic views of the ruling circles of the United States and the Pentagon.

Contemporary military-political and strategic lines of the United States and the NATO leadership combine both the ultramilitaristic ideas of the 1950's, when the officially proclaimed Dulles doctrine of "massive retaliation" was in effect, and elements of the doctrine of "flexible response" which was formulated in 1960 by the American General M. Taylor. The doctrine of "realistic deterrence" which is still in effect and which was put forth at the beginning of the 1970's by the administration of R. Nixon absorbed the basic aggressive anticommunist positions of the former military-political doctrines, adapting them to the new conditions of the struggle against socialism and other revolutionary forces.

A new strategy is being formulated now which, according to the concept of the Pentagon and the Atlantic staffs, should meet more completely the changed conditions of the struggle against socialism.



In what direction are the militarist circles in the West operating, what do imperialism's bellicose steps tell us? Appearing first is the general concept of developing and implementing in practice an anti-detente strategy and a military-political course which is directed toward subverting and torpedoing the requirements of the Helsinki Final Statement of 1975, Soviet-American treaties and agreements, and other understandings. "With such actions," declared Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "the U.S. government is actually striking a blow in general against the regulated international-law system of relations between states."

From the new correlation of forces in the world, the aggressive imperialist circles are drawing the conclusion concerning the necessity for a further arms race to attain strategic and military-technical superiority over the USSR and to prepare and unleash new aggressive wars. They are seeing that relations between the United States and the USSR, two world systems, are structured on the basis of rivalry, to include rivalry in the military-strategic sphere. This is being exploited for the theoretical justification of a confrontation between the two systems and escalation of military preparations which are fraught with dangerous consequences.

The imperialist bloc policy and strategy are being oriented to a growing degree at global aggressive actions, the expansion of the exporting of counter-revolution, and intensifying military-political pressure and penetration. In particular, this is characteristic of NATO--the main imperialist bloc. In May 1975, Carter announced at the Washington session of the NATO Council, as is known, a doctrine whose basic content is reduced to spreading NATO influence far beyond the framework which was officially designated during the period when the treaty creating this organization was signed, that is, beyond the limits of the bloc's member countries' territory, of several other areas of Europe, islands in the North Atlantic region--north of the Tropic of Cancer and the Mediterranean Sea. Official statements of the American leaders and their practical actions recently are evidence that they are trying to include virtually the entire nonsocialist world in NATO's zone of influence. The North Atlantic strategists began to declare openly that "now the entire world is in NATO's sphere of interest."

The aggressive actions of this bloc and its antidemocratic nature which is hostile to the interests of the peoples is manifested in the fact that the NATO militarists are rendering broad political and military assistance to reactionary, antisocialist regimes which are gravitating toward the policy of the United States (UAR, Chili, Israel, and others). At the same time, the North Atlantic bloc is interfering more and more actively and impudently in the internal affairs of peoples who are struggling for their national and social liberation. The latest evidence of this is the imperialist subversive actions in Angola, Ethiopia, and against the peoples of Iran and Afghanistan. An intensive expansion of the neo-colonialist functions of NATO is taking place. These are connected with consolidation of the forces of reaction and mobilization of the resources of the bloc's participants to suppress revolutionary-liberation movements. The doctrine of the United States and NATO

...the main organ of collective neo-colonialism.

Imperialism, working out lines and plans to struggle against detente and preparing new armed provocations, conflicts, and large and small wars, headed for the combination of its efforts with the Maoist leadership of China which is conducting a great-power, hegemonistic policy and is stepping into the world arena as an aggressor and ally of imperialism and the most reactionary regimes. After the Washington session of the NATO Council which has already been mentioned, the presence of the common interests of the United States, NATO, and China were acknowledged for the first time by the official authorities of the United States at the highest level, and the West's militaristic circles are trying to play the "Chinese card" for anti-Soviet purposes.

Dong Xiaoping, one of the initiators and inspirers of China's criminal aggression against socialist Vietnam, making common cause with the statements of the imperialist figures, noted that "in essence China is the 16th member of NATO." The official visit of the head of the American Department of Defense, R. Brown (sic) to China which took place this January again showed the community of hegemonistic and militaristic aspirations of American imperialism and Peking.

The calculations of the Pentagon and NATO are built on the use of Beijing's violent anti-Sovietism in every possible way. Plans of this type are a short-sighted and dangerous policy. Historical experience (including the Munich agreement of 1938) shows how short-sighted are the attempts to form a reactionary bloc on the basis of hegemonism and chauvinism. Such bloc formation may be turned against its organizers first of all. Today's Chinese leaders, stressed Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "not only are not contributing to the cessation of the arms race, but they themselves are urging it on, striving to enlist the support of imperialism's military forces and increase their military potential which has been placed at the service of far-reaching hegemonistic, great-power concepts."

The Chinese rulers are making more active their provocative subversive activity against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Afghanistan, widely supporting reactionary, despotic regimes in various parts of the world, and obtaining big orders from the imperialist states for the delivery of the latest technological equipment for war industry and contemporary armaments. Drawing closer and closer to the militant circles of international imperialism, they have set out along the path of deliberately undermining revolutionary forces and struggling against the commonwealth of socialist countries and the international communist, workers, and national-liberation movements, which is exploited by the imperialists for aggressive goals and in the struggle against socialism and democracy.

In this plane, American hegemony in the Indian Ocean basin represents a great danger. The creation of a new fleet consisting of an aircraft carrier, several destroyers, nuclear submarines, and other ships is being accelerated here. The fleet will cruise in the Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea, and Persian



and Aden Gulfs, performing gendarme functions, building up tension, and intensifying the danger of armed conflicts. To intimidate and blackmail Iran, demonstrate its military power, and prepare and realize its aggressive intentions in this area, by the beginning of 1980 the United States had concentrated the biggest naval and other forces, including five attack carriers and nuclear weapons, since the time of World War II in this area. A very big naval base is being built on the island of Diego Garcia. The United States is in fact trying to execute the functions of "collective policeman" in the Near East, on the South Asian subcontinent, as well as in other regions of the world. In particular, the Pentagon is accelerating the formation of interventionist "rapid deployment forces." Their strength has been set at 100,000-150,000 men. It is planned to expend 9 billion dollars for these purposes alone in Carter's militaristic five-year plan. Thus, the United States is reacting to the growth in the anti-imperialist movements and the liberation struggle of peoples.

Imperialism sees as one of the tasks in improving its bloc policy and strategy overcoming the contradictions in the system of military-political alliances which were created in the postwar period under the aegis of the United States. These contradictions express the crisis of the entire foreign policy of imperialism which is based on supremacy and the subordination, exploitation, and oppression of large and small countries and on kindling distrust and enmity between peoples.

The course toward undermining international security under conditions of a deepening in capitalism's general crisis is leading to a growth in inter-imperialist contradictions, which is graphically obvious even now. These contradictions are extremely acute and they cannot be eliminated. However, the imperialists are seeking a way out of the situation by no means in rejecting their adventurist calculations and plans. They are using all their capabilities to make their bloc policy and the struggle against the USSR, other countries of socialism, and the national-liberation movements more active in every way; to create new military-political blocs in place of those which have ceased to exist; to instill life in those blocs which have been seized by long-term depression; to draw a number of nonaligned and neutral states into the orbit of their influence; and to expand the network of military bases, equipping them with the latest equipment and armament.

The United States and its NATO partners are maintaining broad ties with the South African racist regime and are taking soundings to put together a South Atlantic alliance (SATO). Large quantities of weapons are arriving from the NATO countries in the South African Republic where British and American capital occupy significant positions. In recent years, Israel has also been exporting armaments to the South African racists. The bosses of the Republic of South Africa are straining toward nuclear weapons and accelerating the creation of their own war industry.

It would be dangerous to underestimate all this. At the same time, under contemporary conditions the basic flaws in the imperialist bloc policy and

obvious nonconformance of its anticommunist claims, global goals, and actual capabilities for their realization are clearly obvious. As mentioned in the TASS statement of 7 January 1980 in connection with the 4 January speech on American television by the President of the United States, J. Carter, on the whole "political equilibrium was lost" in this speech, "a realistic consideration of the international situation is absent, the actual capabilities of the United States are overestimated, and the capabilities of those states in whose regard the United States intends to undertake various steps are definitely underestimated. But no one in the United States should have any doubts that the Soviet Union will be able to stand up for its lawful interests and the interests of its allies and friends."

The resistance of imperialism is becoming more and more bitter as the detachments of the world revolutionary movement become stronger. The well-known V. I. Lenin proposition is confirmed: "The stronger the revolution develops, the more strongly are the bourgeois united" ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 37, p 118). The aggression of the fascist states, which ended 35 years ago with their crushing defeat and complete and unconditional surrender, it appears, should have brought reason to the militant imperialist circles which dreamed of destroying socialism and the total suppression of democracy. However, this did not happen.

The joining together of the economic, political, scientific-technical, and military resources of the capitalist world from the very beginning of the knocking together of the postwar imperialist blocs was directed toward preventing the triumph of socialist revolutions and the formation and development of the world socialist system by any means right up to blockades, armed provocations, and the unleashing of a nuclear missile war against the socialist countries. From the first months of the functioning of imperialism's main aggressive bloc, NATO, its main human, material, and financial resources, coalition military formations, theories, plans, and doctrines were oriented primarily toward the struggle with the USSR and the other socialist countries. Standing at the head of this sinister "holy alliance" of reaction for more than three decades is the United States, which has been transformed into a center for anticommunism and militarism. It is here that the wild plans to establish supremacy over the world were nurtured and are being nurtured again.

American hegemonism was not born today or yesterday. The forms of its manifestation change, but its essence is invariable. In this regard, the course toward undermining the security of states and peoples is being realized on increasing scales and with the use of force. This is confirmed, for example, by the following data of the American Brookings Institute: during the years 1949-1975 alone the United States had recourse to the use of armed forces to attain its foreign-policy goals 215 times. In this regard, the threat of nuclear weapons employment hung over the peoples of the world in 19 instances.

Washington is actively involving NATO and other military-political blocs and alliances in the practical implementation of this course. Postwar development convincingly showed the complete groundlessness and falsity of imperialist propaganda's thesis that allegedly NATO is the "guarantee" of peace and international security.

The activity of the NATO bloc and the other closed, regional alliances into which the ruling circles of the United States drew dozens of states is directed against the system of collective security which is unthinkable without the strict observance of the sovereignty and independence of large, medium, and small states, and without respect for their independence and territorial integrity.

The main predestination of imperialism's military-political blocs is the struggle against socialism. At the same time, the undermining of the security of developing countries is being accomplished with the aid of these blocs, and primarily NATO. The creation of big armies and the back-breaking burden of military expenditures are being imposed upon them. NATO is interfering in conflicts between young states, they are drawn into new military-political alliances, and they are inspiring reactionary military coups and putches. In the Middle and Near East, in the southern part of Africa, and in other "hot spots" of the planet imperialist interference led to the emergence of a situation of permanent tension which is fraught with great dangers for the cause of peace.

The working out of imperialist militarists' aggressive plans is accomplished on numerous exercises and maneuvers which are conducted especially intensively in NATO. For example, last fall a series of maneuvers of the combined and national armed forces of the North Atlantic bloc's member countries took place under the code name "Autumn Forge-79." These maneuvers, which lasted for two months, encompassed a tremendous territory--from Norway to Turkey. The NATO command involved in them more than 300,000 soldiers and officers, about 10,000 tanks and other units of armored equipment, more than 2,000 combat aircraft, and 400 ships. NATO is rehearsing war with the simulated employment of nuclear means of attack more and more often. In the United States, plans for launching preventive nuclear strikes against the USSR and other socialist countries are being worked out in an intensified manner.

One of the main channels over which the imperialist bloc policy is being materialized is the export of weapons from the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG, Israel, and a number of other countries. Stepping forth as the biggest supplier of weapons is the United States which exports more of them than any other country in the world. Weapons from the imperialist states go primarily to countries with reactionary, despotic regimes, to those places where aggressive wars are waged, centers of international tension are preserved, and intrigues and plots against freedom-loving peoples are woven. Thus, at the beginning of this year Washington, inciting Pakistan to aggressive, subversive actions against Afghanistan and other neighboring countries, adopted the decision to deliver 400 million dollars worth of armaments

to Iran. The head of the Pentagon, P. Brown, came to an agreement during a recent trip to Beijing that China will also increase its supplying of weapons to hands of Afghan insurgents and counterrevolutionaries operating from Pakistani territory.

Using the latest weapons from across the ocean, the reactionary monarchial regime in Iran cruelly suppressed all opposition, democratic forces, stepped forth as the strangler of other peoples, and served as the bulwark of imperialism in the Near and Middle East. The anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolution swept away the thoroughly rotten regime of the shah and a republican system was proclaimed in the country. With the departure of Iran from CENTO, this bloc virtually ceased to exist. Under the conditions which had developed, the Washington administration is making attempts to find a replacement for CENTO and create a new bloc--a Near East treaty organization (METO). The imperialists intend to expand the reactionary alliance of Israel and Egypt which arose as a result of a separate anti-Arab deal at the expense of other countries in the region. Intensive pressure is being exerted on a number of states in the Near East for this purpose.

The intentions of the American imperialists go even farther. It is being proposed that a new "ocean alliance" be created, including in it under the aegis of Washington such countries as the FRG, Great Britain, Japan, Israel, Italy, Australia, and others.

Life shows that the imperialist "security pacts" are not able to ensure peace and national sovereignty even for those states which are participants in them. Isn't this really shown with all definiteness by the facts of the unceremonious interference of the Atlantic militarists and the U.S. CIA in the affairs of Italy, in the armed conflicts which occurred between Greece and Turkey, the threats of the NATO leaders concerning the "barring" of left forces from the governments of several West European countries, and encouraging the activity of reactionary elements in Portugal? A serious threat to the security and sovereignty of a number of West European NATO member countries is concealed in the plans to emplace new American nuclear weapons on their territory.

Creating a far-flung system of multilateral and bilateral agreements of a military-political nature, the United States has billeted its troops on the territory of 114 foreign states, including many NATO countries. In the FRG there are about 290,000 American soldiers and officers, more than 22,000 in Great Britain, more than 12,000 in Italy, about 5,000 in Turkey and 3,700 in Greece. There are 2,500 American bases and installations outside the United States as well as 12,000 nuclear weapons. The Pentagon keeps about half a million American servicemen abroad. Almost half its tactical aviation and a large part of the ships of the US Navy are at foreign bases. This is a dangerous material and technical arsenal of imperialism's bloc policy which is directed against socialism and democracy.

Imperialism's contemporary bloc policy and strategy assume a substantial expansion of the range of possible wars, to include nuclear wars. In addition



to general nuclear war the concept of "limited nuclear war" is being put forth. The study of an entire complex of questions of an operational-tactical and strategic nature, the organizational development of the armed forces, and the improvement of theaters of operations, the military infrastructure, and system of bases is inseparably connected with this.

The strategy of "limited nuclear war" follows from the necessity to prepare and use the corresponding arsenal of means for the conduct of armed conflict: missiles and other carriers of nuclear weapons, tanks, armored vehicles, warning and guidance systems, and the deployment of control elements. In this way new channels are opened up for the imperialist arms race which is acquiring more and more dangerous forms and scales.

The tremendous scope and increasing rates of the arms race find their expression in such a generalizing indicator as the increase in military expenditures. If, in 1949, the direct military expenditures of the NATO countries, according to official data, were 18.7 billion dollars, 20 years later they exceeded 100 billion dollars. An especially rapid growth in expenditures for militarization took place in the 1970's: in 1970--104 billion, in 1974--131.6 billion, in 1976--155 billion, and in 1978--178.2 billion dollars. Thus, the military appropriations of the NATO countries increased 10-fold during the bloc's existence. The total sum of expenditures for military purposes for the years 1949-1979 reached the colossal sum of approximately 2.8 trillion dollars.

In May 1977, the decision was adopted in NATO for an annual increase in military appropriations in real terms (with consideration of inflation) of three percent. A year later the Washington session of the NATO Council, approving this decision, adopted a long-term program for a quantitative and qualitative buildup of armaments. This program, which was intended for 15 years, includes about 100 militaristic measures. It is intended to expend an additional 80 billion dollars on their implementation. Recently, the decision has been adopted in the United States to increase the military budget by five percent per year. The Pentagon is seeing to it that the United States' NATO partners are following this example, and the ruling circles of a number of countries, primarily Great Britain and the FRG, are continuously increasing their military expenditures.

Just where do these colossal sums from the military budgets of the NATO states go? In connection with the strategic lines for the conduct of general and "limited" nuclear wars, the elaboration of programs in the field of weapons of mass destruction has intensified noticeably in the United States. Important measures are being implemented which are connected with the improvement of operating and creating new strategic means for the delivery of nuclear weapons.

These measures are being conducted in three general directions. The first direction is the qualitative improvement of the "Minuteman" intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and the development of a new type of ICBM--the

mobile-based MX. The second direction is the accelerated construction of the new "Trident-2" sea-based nuclear missile system. The third direction is the preparation of neutron weapons for series production and the creation of a fleet of strategic cruise missiles and the continental-strategic "Pershing-2" missiles.

In implementing their global bloc policy which is directed toward the undermining of the cause of peace, the imperialist circles of the United States and other NATO countries are allotting a special place in their aggressive plans to the European continent. Here, in Europe, the successes of socialism and the worker and communist movement which are causing anger and hatred among reaction are most perceptible. It is also known that large contingents of troops and weapons arsenals which belong to the member states of the North Atlantic bloc and the Warsaw Pact countries are concentrated in Europe. The state of international relations as a whole depends to a great extent on how the military-political and strategic situation in Europe develops.

The peaceful initiative with which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stepped forth at ceremonies in Berlin devoted to the 30th anniversary of the GDR was evaluated by peace-loving forces everywhere as a new step by the Soviet Union along the path of preventing a new war and deepening detente which has the most important significance. But the Atlantic strategists responded to it in their own way: they openly pursued a course for the further whipping up of the arms race and military preparations. The Pentagon is reequipping its troops which are stationed in Western Europe and increasing their numbers at accelerated rates.

The aggressive military-political acts of the Atlantic strategists are being implemented in accordance with their current and long-term plan, and their far-fetched "arguments" which are false through and through and justify such plans are references to NATO's "lagging" in the field of armaments and to the "intrigues of world communism." The strategists of imperialism and the Beijing leaders talk profusely about the so-called "Soviet threat" with special zeal, breaking all records for lies, hypocrisy, and Pharisaism. However, the peoples of the planet know well that the USSR is a peace-loving state. "We are countering the 'doctrine' of war hysteria and a feverish arms race," stressed Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at a pre-election meeting of the electors of Moscow's Bauman election district, "with a doctrine of persistent struggle for peace and security on Earth. We are loyal to the program of peace put forth by the 24th and 25th Congresses of our party. The country of Soviets always was and remains the bulwark of socialism, peace, and friendship between peoples."

The activity of the aggressive imperialist blocs requires high activity and vigilance from the peace-loving public and the broad popular masses. Life shows: it is necessary to struggle energetically for the preservation and strengthening of peace and to oppose the forces of aggression and reaction with the unity and solidarity of all detachments of the anti-imperialist movement.

The Warsaw Pact Organization is performing most important functions in the defense of peace and socialism. Created in response to the intensification of aggressive actions of the imperialist powers and to the knocking together of the North Atlantic bloc which is directed primarily against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the defensive organization of socialist states is the fundamental opposite of NATO. Its entire 25-year history is the history of struggle for the resolution of issues through talks and for disarmament and the elimination of military confrontation. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact was and remains the reliable shield of socialism and an important factor for peace. During the days which are most alarming for mankind, when the international horizon became clouded, the firm and reasonable position of the socialist alliance helped to stop rashness and opened prospects for normalizing the situation.

The Lenin ideas of the struggle against imperialism and reaction and of the international solidarity of socialist states and peoples in the struggle for a firm peace and socialism received further fruitful development in the activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

The Soviet Armed Forces are facing especially important missions in restraining aggressors and those who prepare and unleash military conflicts. Together with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries, they are called upon to guard peace reliably and to guarantee international security. The Soviet servicemen are continuously improving their skill and raising their level of combat and political training. "The Soviet people," declared member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet Minister of Defense, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, at a meeting with electors on 13 February, "can live and work peacefully. Our Armed Forces are always at a high stage of combat readiness and are capable of giving a crushing rebuff immediately to any aggression from wherever it may originate!"

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## POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION: CHINA AS A MILITARY THREAT

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 80 signed to press  
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[Article by Yu. Petrov: "Maoist China--Accomplice of Imperialism and Source of Military Danger"]

[Text] Recent events show that the situation in the world has become noticeably more complicated through the fault of imperialism's aggressive circles. The reactionary forces in the United States and other NATO countries would like to stop the development of the world revolutionary process by any means, including force of arms. Using false concepts of the "Soviet military threat" as a cover and speculating on events in Afghanistan whose people have been given fraternal international assistance by the Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialist interference, they are building up the arms race and creating more and more destructive weapons of mass destruction.

One of the reasons for the complication of the international situation is the policy of China's Maoist leadership which is now openly entering into an alliance with the most shameless reactionaries. Life is convincingly confirming the conclusion of our party's 25th Congress that the policy of the present Beijing leaders is converging directly with the position of the most extreme reaction in the entire world--from the militarists and enemies of detente in the western countries to the racists of South Africa and the fascist rulers of Chile. This policy is not only completely foreign to socialist principles and ideals, but in essence has become an important reserve for imperialism in its struggle against socialism ("Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], p 10.

### 1. Relations Between the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. It opened the road to the liberation of the Chinese people, too. The young Soviet state had an attitude of deep understanding toward the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese workers and gave them comprehensive support and assistance. An agreement "On common principles for regulating problems between the USSR and the Chinese Republic was signed on 31 May 1924. It



was China's first equitable international agreement which laid the basis for the development of friendly relations between the two neighboring countries.

The Soviet Union invariably conducted a good-neighbor policy in regard to China. In the 1920's, our people rendered considerable assistance to the government of Sun Yat-sen in the organizational development of a national-revolutionary army.

Subsequently, the growing national-liberation movement of the Chinese people against the Japanese imperialists also relied on the powerful material and moral support of the Soviet Union. Our country delivered a large quantity of weapons, combat equipment, fuel, and other military materials to China. At the beginning of 1939, several thousand Soviet military specialists arrived here. Soviet volunteer pilots fought in the China sky.

Especially favorable conditions for the national-liberation struggle of peoples, to include the Chinese, developed as a result of the smashing of German fascism and Japanese militarism with the decisive role of the USSR. North-east China, which was liberated by the Soviet Army, became the main base for the popular revolution. Units of the Chinese armed forces were reequipped and outfitted here with the aid of the USSR. The decisive offensive of the People's Liberation Army began here. It was crowned with the defeat of the Chiang Kai-shek troops and the victory of the popular revolution. China was proclaimed a people's republic on 1 October 1949. Already on the day following this event, the Soviet government recognized the PRC [Peoples Republic of China].

The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the PRC which was signed on 14 February 1950 in Moscow became a genuine expression of the Soviet Union's internationalist policy in regard to the Chinese people. The parties pledged to develop and strengthen friendship and collaboration, respect territorial integrity, and not to interfere in each other's internal affairs. The leaders of the PRC were in agreement then with the historically formed borders between the USSR and China and did not put forth any territorial claims against our country.

We can recall the basic stages in the development of the Maoists' anti-Soviet course. They are, first, the period when an anti-Soviet policy was conducted in as if a veiled form. After the victory of the revolution, the Maoists could not get by without the political, economic, diplomatic, and military assistance and support of the USSR. However, beneath the outer shell of friendly relations they nurtured hegemonistic aspirations and gradually began to put obstacles in the way of expanding Sino-Soviet friendship. The Maoists gradually initiated broad propaganda of a hostile attitude toward our country in the party, the army, and then among the population and they began to prepare public opinion for a sharp turn in foreign policy.

The next stage in the Maoists' anti-Soviet policy began in the spring of 1958 when supporters of a nationalist line in the development of the country, rejecting the course of the 8th Party Congress for the building of socialism, gained the upper hand.

A special course was also proclaimed by Beijing in the field of foreign policy. Hypocritically taking cover behind the slogan of a "decisive struggle" against imperialism, the Maoists tried to provoke an armed clash between the USSR and the United States.

With the failure of the Maoist experiments in the economy, a noisy slanderous campaign against the USSR was initiated in China. Streams of lies and misinformation which pursued the goal of heaping on us the blame for all the failures and blunders committed by the Maoist leaders rained down upon the heads of the Chinese citizens. The international assistance of the USSR to China was shown in distorted form and the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was misinterpreted.

The Beijing leaders proceeded to curtail Sino-Soviet relations unilaterally in all directions--in the fields of economics, science, culture, art and so forth. Despite the interests of their people, they rejected further assistance of the USSR in the building of dozens of installations of vital importance to the country.

Through the fault of the Maoist leaders, relations between our countries began to deteriorate along party and state lines. Contacts along military lines also began to be reduced artificially. Difficulties of every possible type which complicated the activity of the Soviet specialists were created and they were placed under surveillance. All this forced the Soviet government to recall its specialists from China.

During these years, the situation on the Soviet-Chinese border became sharply aggravated. The Maoists changed from propagandizing their claims to foreign lands to direct provocations.

It is important to stress that despite the furious anti-Soviet campaign which was unleashed in China, the CPSU and the Soviet government adopted all measures to normalize the Soviet Union's relations with the PRC. The Soviet Union abstained from open polemics and criticism of the PRC's domestic and foreign policy. It was repeatedly proposed to the Chinese leaders that a meeting be conducted on any level and at any time to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. However, these proposals found no response from the Chinese side.

The anti-Soviet course of the Beijing leaders was especially intensified in the period of the so-called "cultural revolution." This period in China is characterized by the establishment of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship of the Maoists and a sharp intensification of the country's militarization. By now the slogan, "Soviet Union--mortal enemy," was openly put forward by Maoist propaganda.

More and more often, the Maoists went from words to deed. Border conflicts on the Soviet-Chinese border which were unleashed by the Chinese adventurists soon developed into armed provocations. The biggest of them was the Maoists provocation in March 1969 when the Chinese servicemen grossly violated the

Soviet-Chinese border on the Ussuri River. They opened fire on Soviet border guards who demanded that the violators leave our territory. Our men gave a proper rebuff to the presumptuous violators.

The Soviet government condemned the armed provocations of the Maoists, declaring that it decisively rejects any encroachments on Soviet lands whatever. We again proposed specific measures to the Chinese leaders for normalizing the situation on the border. On the initiative of the Soviet government, a meeting took place between Comrade A. N. Kosygin and premier of the PRC's State Council, Zhou Enlai. But the Chinese rulers headed for a complete break in relations with the Soviet government, distorting the essence of our efforts for their normalization.

For many years, as a rule, the Chinese leadership rejected out of hand the numerous constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union. As early as the 24th CPSU Congress in 1971, L. I. Brezhnev proposed from the rostrum that Soviet-Chinese relations be normalized and that a meeting be conducted at a high level to settle problems which had arisen. The Soviet leadership repeatedly expressed itself in favor of moving relations between the USSR and the PRC to the good-neighbor channel so that these relations could be structured on principles of peaceful coexistence.

In order to attach a specific content to their proposals, the USSR began talks with China on the border question which have been taking place in Beijing without noticeable progress for 10 years already.

Nevertheless the USSR, prompted by an historic responsibility for strengthening peace and concern for normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations, decided to undertake a new goodwill step. In February 1978, the Presidium of the Soviet Supreme Soviet, on the eve of the session of the All-Chinese Assembly of People's Representatives, sent to its permanent committee an appeal in which it again declared its readiness to put an end to the present abnormal situation in relations between the USSR and the PRC and halt the dangerous process of further aggravation of relations. But this time, too, the Beijing rulers remained on anti-Soviet positions.

The Chinese Maoist leadership unilaterally abrogated the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the PRC. On 4 April 1979 the Soviet government made an announcement which disclosed the entire state of affairs of the Maoists' irresponsible decision, their hypocrisy, and their disregard for the vital interests of the Chinese people and the cause of peace in the entire world.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government, adopting measures directed toward the exposure of Maoism and the unmasking of its hegemonistic, anti-Soviet intentions, consistently strived for and are striving for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. The 25th Congress of our party confirmed the principles on the basis of which Soviet-Chinese relations could be normalized and improved with benefit to the peoples of both countries, the cause of peace, and socialism.

Even now, rejecting the great-power hegemonistic claims of the Maoist leadership, the Soviet Union is continuing to come forth for the normalization of relations with the PRC. As a result of these efforts, talks were begun in Moscow at the level of governmental delegations of the USSR and the PRC which were to be continued in Beijing. However, at present the Chinese leaders have postponed them for an indefinite period.

Thus, faced by Beijing's hegemonistic aspirations, the Soviet Union is demonstrating firm adherence to its Leninist peace-loving foreign policy and giving a decisive rebuff to false fabrications of every possible type which the Chinese leaders address to us, at the same time demonstrating proper concern for its security.

## 2. The Contemporary Situation in China. Militarization of the Country's Life and Establishment of a Military-Bureaucratic Regime. Conversion of the Chinese Armed Forces into an Antipopular Weapon of the Maoists.

In describing the contemporary situation in China, it should be kept in mind that each sphere of life of Chinese society today is subordinated to the accomplishment of far-reaching, hegemonistic great-power goals of the Maoists. The basis for the aggressive aspirations of today's Chinese leaders is formed by the statement of Mao Zedong back in 1959: "We must subjugate the world. Our objective is the entire world where we will create a strong power."

As formerly, the Beijing rulers are exploiting the revolutionary achievements of the Chinese people (the system of state and cooperative property) for the attainment of frankly antisocialist goals. The so-called four "modernizations" became the core of the entire administrative policy of Mao's successors--in the fields of industry, agriculture, the army, and science and technology. The military field was considered to be the main one. A large part of the men and equipment have been thrown into its accelerated accomplishment.

Today, 40 percent of the state budget is expended for military purposes. By now, this country has nuclear, missile, aviation, tank, and artillery industries and contemporary production of ammunition and military equipment.

In the attainment of its military goals, Beijing is placing great hopes on foreign economic ties with imperialist states. Two thirds of the Chinese foreign-trade turnover is their share.

The Maoists are straining more and more actively toward the NATO arsenals. The Chinese militarists are disquieted by the fact that the qualitative level of their tanks, airplanes, and ships and the amount of combat equipment do not correspond to the far-reaching aggressive plans for Beijing's establishment of world domination. It is not surprising that in recent years the Maoists have been trying to conclude many deals with military-industrial complexes of imperialist states which are prepared to offer Beijing openly or in veiled form the opportunity to acquire contemporary combat aircraft, tanks, and other military equipment. Thus, Great Britain has agreed to deliver to



Building the "Harrier" aircraft with vertical takeoff. China is trying to obtain nuclear power reactors, military helicopters, and "Mirage" airplanes from France. Its collaboration with the FRG is expanding, also in the interests of developing Chinese military industry.

With the great number of acute economic problems, the tremendous load of militarism is sharply inhibiting the development of the country's economy and is leading to intensification of the poverty of the broad popular masses. The so-called "rational low wage" has been maintained in China for 20 years already. And although recently measures for an insignificant increase in the workers' wages have been publicized, they have been wiped out by the increase in prices. The following figures can be presented for clearness: in recent years prices for vegetable oil increased by 60 percent and for meat by almost 100 percent. Beginning 1 November 1979, prices for almost all food products were again raised in China.

Here, as formerly, the rigidly rationed distribution of food and industrial goods for the population is being retained. In essence, discipline of the cane has been introduced in production and is being strictly maintained. The appeals under the title, "Ten 'don't's'" which are official and widely propagandized by the authorities can be called nothing other than Maoist lines of "barracks socialism." They are: don't fear difficulties, don't fear death, don't chase after personal glory, don't chase after profit, don't call attention to working conditions, don't call attention to the duration of work, and so forth. The Maoists have nothing to offer the people except the arms race, further restriction of consumption, and even greater "tightening of the screws" in public life.

Maoism's militaristic ideas are being forced through the entire system of instruction and indoctrination in all elements of which the slogan, "Each Chinese is a soldier first of all," is adhered to. From the kindergartens to the universities, the rising generation is inspired with the thought that one should always be ready to confirm the ideas of Mao Zedong with weapon in hand. If we add to this measures which encompass the entire country and which are directed toward the complete militarization of the economy, the widespread construction of shelters in cities in the event of nuclear war, the accumulation of food reserves, and so forth, it is not difficult to imagine the scales of militaristic intoxication in today's China.

Those strata, groups, and organs on which the military-bureaucratic dictatorship relies in its militaristic policy are playing an ever larger role in the social structure and political organization of Chinese society. The influence of the military is increasing rapidly. They make up the backbone of a multimillion-man bureaucratic stratum. Organized military force is represented directly by the armed forces (more than 4 million men) and a regular home guard (5-7 million men). However, the military's influence in public life is much greater than their share of the country's population.

It must also be said that the system of periodically repeated purges has been legitimized in China. All those who stood on internationalist positions

have been removed from the political arena. These goals were also pursued by the notorious "cultural revolution" which was directed at eliminating those who did not support the policy of the Maoist leadership or doubted the "truth of Maoism."

Questions of the intrapartisan struggle and the purge of the party, administrative, and economic apparatus were again thrust to the foreground recently. This reflects the constant struggle for power in the Beijing leadership.

The course toward militarization of society's spiritual life is subordinate to the great-power, hegemonistic goals of the Beijing leaders. A tremendous role is allotted to the ideological processing of the population and the army in the subsequent rigidization of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship. In order to transform China into a mighty power in the last quarter of the century, it is necessary to intensify in every possible way the indoctrination of the people in the spirit of Mao Zedong ideas, Hua Guofeng urged at the 11th Congress of the CCP.

Maoist ideology is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist teaching, antiscientific, and hostile to the world communist, worker, and national-liberation movement and the interests of the working masses, including the Chinese people themselves. Beijing propagandists are popularizing the ideas of Mao Zedong in every way as allegedly revolutionary teaching. However, in reality these views are the theoretical basis of the militaristic policy of China's rulers are a mixture of reactionary theories and views which are hostile to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They are borrowed from the most diverse philosophical schools and are called upon to justify the consolidation of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship in the country and the attainment of the Chinese adventurers' great-power, hegemonistic intentions in the international arena.

Orientation on coercion within the country and on war in international policy was adopted from the ancient Chinese philosophical school of legists ("lawyers"). Ideas which propagate the spirit of submissiveness and which glorify the cult of the supreme ruler and the superiority of China over other countries were taken from Confucianism. The theories of subjectivism and voluntarism in the philosophy of anarchism proved to be valuable for the Maoists. Bourgeois concepts of justifying any policy if it is advantageous for those who implement it occupied a prominent place in the mishmash of Mao Zedong's heterogeneous ideas. In short, everything which serves the reactionary goals of the present Beijing leaders is taken by them for "theoretical" argument and is used in the struggle with those who do not support and, what is more, condemn Beijing's ideology and policy.

The serious danger of Maoist ideas is that they are intentionally adorned in "Marxist clothing" and employ socialist phraseology which hinders the possibility to view their reactionary nature. This special feature of Maoism is widely used by bourgeois propaganda in its indefatigable striving to smear Marxism-Leninism and put a basis beneath the false notions of "red militarism."

In fact, the Maoists announce all their ideological eccentricities as "further development" of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. They do not tire of juggling such terms as "dictatorship of the proletariat," "socialist revolution," "communist party," "workers' interests," and so forth. However, whatever the clothing in which Maoism may dress itself, it always was and remains in its essence a phenomenon which is essentially foreign to Marxism-Leninism.

One of the typical features of Maoism's ideology is its frank direction against the Soviet Union. Taking cover behind the fiction of "the threat from the North," the Beijing leaders are driving into the consciousness of the population and the army personnel the thought that anti-Sovietism is the only policy which allegedly meets the interests of China and are striving to obtain the support of the more aggressive imperialist circles.

In order to distract the attention of the Chinese people from the numerous internal difficulties and direct their dissatisfaction toward rousing hatred toward the Soviet Union, the Maoists created and are maintaining in the country an atmosphere of a militaristic psychosis and the environment of a "besieged fortress."

Playing on the fear and nationalism of the millions and millions of countrymen who are stupefied by them, the Maoists are bringing up the Chinese as "patient citizens" and "obedient soldiers." This is served by the propaganda campaigns which glorify "real Chinese" such as the soldier Ley Fen [as transliterated] who devotes all his free time to copying quotes of Mao in his notebook; Ouyan Khaya [as transliterated] who is memorizing all Mao's directives by heart; and the "sixth inflexible company" which took an oath to die rather than withdraw before "social-imperialism" (this is what the Soviet Union is slanderously called in China). The ideological ballyhoo around the "heroes" of China's aggressive war against socialist Vietnam is intended for instilling "firmness of spirit."

The ideological processing of the population and the army has the goal of transforming petty-bourgeois ideas of Maoism into a vital line for each one, closing the people's access to the truth, and molding in the people a false world outlook and blind devotion to the Maoist leaders. Here, main reliance is placed on the younger generation. Infecting the youth with the poison of militarism and great-power chauvinism, the Beijing propagandists persistently instill in their consciousness the official thesis that "each generation should have its war."

The militarization of the life of contemporary China finds its most complete embodiment in the armed forces. Their nature and predestination are determined by the antipopular policy of the Maoist leaders. China's armed forces have been transformed from national-liberation forces into a means for the defense of the military-bureaucratic regime and orders which are profoundly foreign to the working masses. With the aid of the army, the Beijing leaders smashed the internationalist party cadres, constitutional organs of state

authority, and public organizations. The Chinese army is now widely used to "bring order" in the Chinese cities.

The army in China has been endowed with wide administrative powers which party and state organs should implement. The Maoists' demand to learn from the PLA [Chinese People's Liberation Army] and to utilize its experience in practice means nothing but the striving of the Beijing leaders to confirm the principles of army discipline everywhere, turning the state apparatus into an obedient tool which can be rigidly controlled from above.

As regards its external function, the Chinese army is preparing for aggressive actions against adjacent states. The antisocialist predestination of China's armed forces is clearly manifested in its armed adventure against socialist Vietnam which confirmed that China had been transformed into an important source of international tension.

From the military-technical viewpoint, the Chinese army is being prepared by the Maoists for the conduct of contemporary war with the use of all the means of armed conflict. The Beijing leaders are trying to adapt the Maoist lines, in particular the theory of "people's war," to present conditions. At the 11th Congress of the CCP, Hua Guofang said: "We must firmly adhere to the ideas of Chairman Mao concerning people's war. Regardless of the fact that sooner or later, on small or large scales, the enemy will unleash war, be it a conventional or nuclear war, our army, relying firmly on people's war as a miraculous force, must always be ready to smash any enemy."

Actually, in training the Chinese armed forces reliance is placed not on the defense but on aggressive offensive operations. Beijing's contemporary military doctrine envisages the conduct of conventional as well as nuclear war. To wage war with the employment of conventional means of destruction, China has deployed the most numerous ground forces in the world which number more than 3 million men. Their composition includes regular and local troops as well as a multimillion-man militia. According to data in the foreign press, the regular ground forces have been organized into army corps--heavy, medium, and light. More than half the large units are stationed in areas adjacent to China's borders with the USSR and the Mongolian Peoples Republic (MPR).

Prior to the aggression against socialist Vietnam, a force of almost 600,000 men was created on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Troops were transferred there from the zone of the Straits of Taiwan. This became possible after a Sino-American deal which established the "complete normalization" of relations between Beijing and Washington.

In recent years, with the increase in militaristic preparations the Chinese militarists are striving to increase the maneuverability of the ground forces and strengthen their firepower. According to estimates of Japanese specialists, in the last three years the number of tanks in the infantry divisions of the PLA increased from 30 to 90 units, and in the tank divisions--from 301 to 398. Great attention is being devoted to equipping ground force units



and large units with contemporary weapons to combat tanks and air defense weapons.

The air force of the Chinese army is constantly increasing. Today it occupies one of the leading places in the world for number of personnel and aircraft. The strengthening of the air force is being conducted in two directions. On the one hand, aviation's combat capabilities are being strengthened through the development of more modern airplanes of their own design and the acquisition of foreign models. On the other hand--by increasing the qualifications of the flight personnel.

The Beijing leaders are applying ever greater efforts for the development of the navy which formerly accomplished primarily missions in supporting the coast offense. Today, China is achieving the creation of a fleet which would permit her to demonstrate naval might as far from her shores as possible.

In Beijing, special significance is attached to the development of nuclear missile forces, including tactical forces. According to reports in the foreign press, in recent years the number of nuclear weapons in the Chinese army tripled and the network of missile bases was expanded.

The Chinese leadership is demonstrating acute interest in the neutron bomb. Back in July 1977, Foreign Minister Huang Hua declared that China is actively collecting materials pertaining to this weapon and is ready to create a special scientific research organization for further work in this field.

Preparation of China's armed forces for the conduct of aggressive, predatory wars is accompanied by the corresponding ideological processing of the mass of soldiers. The presence of a large draftee contingent permits the thorough selection of new recruits from the viewpoint of political trustworthiness. During three to five years of military service, the youths are indoctrinated in the spirit of Maoism, military nationalism, and hatred for the Soviet country and the countries of the socialist commonwealth. As evidenced by the crimes of the Chinese soldiers on Vietnamese soil, the Maoists are succeeding in training from the soldiers cruel cutthroats and thoughtless executors of the will of Beijing's hegemonistic rulers.

Of course, China's military capabilities are limited for the present. However, it would be incorrect to underestimate the danger on the part of Beijing which is preparing for war in an intensified manner and modernizing the army, counting on the assistance of the imperialist circles. China now is the only country which is conducting tests of its nuclear bombs in the atmosphere, disregarding the protests of world public opinion. Up to now, China has not only not signed even one international agreement leading to disarmament, but is also trying to defeat all undertakings in this field by any measures. Defeat in Vietnam did not decrease the bellicosity of Mao's heirs; on the contrary, they adopted the decision which is directed toward accelerating the modernization of their armed forces. Thus, not only Beijing's statements, but also its practical actions show that its militaristic aspirations and hegemonistic, great-power policy are creating an ever

greater threat to peace and the security of all countries and peoples. "Now everyone can see," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "that it is namely this policy which now represents the most serious threat to peace in the entire world. The entire danger of any forms of complicity in this policy is now clearer than ever before."

#### 3. The Aggressive Foreign-Policy Course of the Beijing Leaders--the Source of the Danger of War

Today's Chinese leaders consider a new world war to be the shortest path to the establishment of world domination. Right behind Mao Zedong, who discussed the usefulness of war and the readiness to sacrifice "half of mankind" for it, they foretell the inevitability of a nuclear catastrophe. "A third tremendous world war is inevitable," said the head of the Chinese delegation to the UN General Assembly. "Perhaps, some people will perish in this war. But this war will facilitate the solution of the problems of oppressed nations and mankind. It is not at all so bad."

The Chinese people are called upon "to prepare actively for war" and "not to eat or sleep if this work is being conducted passively." The theme of the inevitability of a new world war and preparation for it has become a permanent one in the speeches of the PRC's leaders and in the materials of Chinese propaganda. Member of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee and Defense Minister Xu Xiangqian wrote in the article, "Increase Vigilance and the Readiness to Fight," "A new world war can only be postponed, but it cannot be avoided." Here, the possibility of "postponement" is caused by the degree of readiness of other states to unite in an antisocialist "common front."

The Beijing militarists do not limit themselves to words. In implementing their aggressive, hegemonistic policy, they are doing everything to undermine detente, intensify the arms race, and kindle new hot spots of tension and military conflicts. Beijing is holding its course for aggressive war and for many years already has been openly attacking its neighbors to seize their lands and plunder their wealth.

The Chinese leadership has put forth many times and is continuing to put forth territorial claims against neighboring countries, demanding that territory be included as part of China whose area exceeds the territory of the PRC itself. Back in 1956, Beijing tried to appropriate 170,000 square kilometers of Burmese territory by force in realizing its annexationist plans. In 1959, 130,000 square kilometers of Indian territory became the object of Chinese claims. In 1962, Chinese troops intruded into India with aggressive goals, penetrated to a depth of 80-100 kilometers, and still continue to hold about 36,000 square kilometers of Indian territory. In 1974, China seized the Paracel Islands which belong to Vietnam. In 1976 Beijing, using armed "fishing vessels," proved its "rights" to the Senkaku Islands which Japan considers as its own. For many years already the Chinese leadership has been organizing provocations on the borders of the Mongolian Peoples Republic and supporting bands of separatists in India, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and in the Philippines.

Convincing proof of the Maoists' aggressive policy and military concepts was the Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. They hoped that the punitive operation against Vietnam would be conducted in a short time.

However, the aggressor miscalculated. First, he underestimated the forces, capabilities and, most important, the bravery and steadfastness of the Vietnamese people and their glorious army. During 30 days of active combat operations, without committing to battle the main body of its regular troops, Vietnam inflicted a serious military defeat on the aggressors, putting out of action more than 62,000 of their soldiers and officers and a large quantity of tanks, armored personnel carriers, guns, and other equipment and armament. The American newspaper WALL STREET JOURNAL wrote: "China emerged from the war with a damaged reputation and a broken nose...."

The firm, clear, truly internationalist position of the Soviet Union had tremendous significance for suppressing the aggression. Loyalty to the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty, a severe warning to the aggressor, effective and comprehensive assistance to the fraternal people, contacts and consultations with the Vietnamese friends--all this played a large role in repelling the aggression.

Beijing's forming a bloc with the most double-dyed imperialist forces caused the alarm of world public opinion. Recently, such bloc formation is encompassing the military field more and more. Practical measures are being undertaken to knock together a military-political alliance of China, the United States, and Japan and to develop and strengthen China's ties with NATO on an anti-Soviet basis.

The visit to the PRC by the U. S. Secretary of Defense, H. Brown, which took place at the beginning of this year confirmed the peace-loving public's fear concerning the threat to security which the Sino-American understanding on ensuring "parallel strategic interests through the joint efforts of the two countries" will bring to the peoples. Taking cover behind discussions on the striving to develop relations "in the name of peace" and "for the good of the interests of the peoples of both countries," the military leaders of Beijing and Washington frankly say that they are interested first of all in the military-political aspects of the ties. The Minister of Defense of the PRC, Xu Xiangqian, noted that this visit "opened the way to an exchange of information and opinions between the highest military leaders of the two countries."

The Beijing strategists are persistently lured by the hope of obtaining American military equipment, creating a military alliance with the United States, and using the American military-economic potential to realize their own hegemonistic intentions.

The outlines of the military alliance between the Maoists and the American imperialists are clearly visible in connection with events in Afghanistan

which are put out by western and Chinese propaganda as an "intervention" by the Russians. In fact, Washington knows well everything about the intervention from Pakistani territory. For the Americans together with the Chinese and others themselves are directing this intervention which created a serious threat to the Afghan revolution and, what is more, to the security of our southern border. Numerous facts prove that Beijing is acting in concert with the United States and local reaction in trying to undermine the revolutionary achievements of the Afghan people and overthrow the legal government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Immediately after the April revolution, the Chinese special service activated various pro-Beijing groups in Afghanistan and contributed to their uniting with reactionary nationalistic groups and organizations. It was established that the Beijing leaders and their secret service along with the special services of the United States are involved in the attempt at a counterrevolutionary revolt in the Afghan city of Herat and the throwing of hirelings there for this purpose last March.

They are using Xinjiang which borders with Afghanistan to create bases to train insurgents there. A group of insurgents consisting of 250 men who were trained in China operated in the Afghan region of Urgun. The Chinese are displaying special activity in the area of the northern Afghan provinces of Badakhshan and Badkhan. The London DAILY TELEGRAPH even reported that a unit of Chinese troops (about 900 men) had crossed the border in the area of the Wakhan Range and had penetrated into Afghan territory.

The undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan which is being waged from Pakistani territory with the active support of the United States and other imperialist states served as a convenient occasion for the Beijing hegemonists to consolidate their positions in this area of the world. As reported by the TIMES OF INDIA, the Maoists are transferring a tremendous amount of military equipment to Pakistan over the Karakorum highway. "According to information from intelligence circles," the newspaper writes, "the Chinese showered Pakistan with so much equipment that even if all the insurgents are armed rather large surpluses will remain. To create a bridgehead for themselves adjacent to the oil-bearing regions of the Persian Gulf is part of the long-term strategic plans of the Chinese leadership."

It is easy to understand how dangerous the contemplated alliance of Beijing with the imperialism and militarism of the United States and the aggressive intentions of the Beijing instigators are. "The actions of American imperialism," pointed out member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet Minister of Defense, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, "are completely supported by the rulers of Beijing who are unconditionally sacrificing the national interests of the Chinese people to their great-power intentions." Under the hypocritical mask of peaceableness, Beijing is trying to hide the insidious goals of Chinese hegemonism: the striving to win world domination and set some countries against others.



At the base of the Maoists' policy lies a wild plan which was worked out by Mao Zedong himself. "After some years," declared Mao, "we will certainly build a big empire and will be ready for a landing in Japan, the Philippines, and San Francisco." He placed his reliance on a third world war in which the USSR and the United States would mutually exhaust each other. After this, he said, nothing could prevent China from establishing world hegemony.

Beijing has long dreamed of a world conflict in which the USSR and the United States would clash while China itself stood aside, "sitting on the top of the hill and watching two tigers fight in the valley." Now and then, "reliable information" appears in the Chinese newspapers to the effect that the Russians are preparing for a "preventive war" against the Americans. Beijing's provocative goal is clear. Intimidating the United States with a mythical "Soviet threat," Beijing then advises its American friends not to overestimate the forces of the USSR. The United States, it says, has nothing to fear from the Soviet Union and "while it has not increased its military potential manyfold," war with the USSR should be begun even now. The Beijing leaders hope that a nuclear clash between the USSR and the United States will lead to the mutual weakening of these countries and clear the path for China's world hegemony.

Today's Maoist leaders are shouting about the "Soviet threat" almost as loudly and are calling on the NATO countries to "unite" and intensify the arms race. There are many signs on hand to the effect that the Atlantic bloc has acquired one more, 16th, member in the person of China.

China's military alliance with NATO carries a serious threat to peace. A special feature of this unnatural alliance is the fact that each of the parties, dreaming of banking the fire with someone else's hands, is creating a danger for other states by its actions. For Beijing's goals are well known and it does not hide them--to block detente, frustrate efforts in the area of disarmament, and nudge the world toward a new world war.

Deng Xiaoping acted in this direction during his visit to the United States, recommending that the United States "step forth energetically" against the Soviet Union. But when the journalists asked him what China will do in this case, Deng answered that "China is poor, it must strengthen its weak economy." "For Deng," wrote the American newspaper the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR at that time, "the age-old Chinese game is being discussed--urging one foreign power against another."

Thus, it can be concluded that the Chinese leadership, betraying the ideals of the revolution and seized with the fantastic aspiration toward hegemonism, deserted to the camp of imperialism and was transformed into its ally in the struggle against socialism. The creation of a powerful militaristic state in China and its expansionist foreign policy course may become the source of a new world war.

The people of the planet are vigilantly following the intrigues of the Beijing strategists. The Soviet Union, states of the socialist commonwealth, and all

peace-loving forces are stepping forth resolutely against a policy of war. "The adventurist 'doctrines' of the new advocates of 'policy from a position of strength,'" stressed Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in a speech before the election of the Bauman election district of Moscow, "are dangerous not for some separate country or group of countries alone. They bear a threat to the peace and security of all states and peoples. And it is a matter for all those who need and treasure peace to give a rebuff to these sinister intentions."

Marxist-Leninists, however, do not identify the Chinese people with the military-bureaucratic dictatorship of the Maoists. The struggle against Maoism and the rebuffing of Beijing's hegemonistic claims meet the basic interests of the Chinese people and their socialist perspective.

Decisive significance for restraining the aggressive forces of imperialism and their Maoist accomplices is had by the lofty political vigilance of the peoples, the further strengthening of world socialism, the unity and solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries, and the strengthening of their defensive capability.

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VICTORY DAY ARTICLE: ARMY GENERAL MAYOROV

Riga KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII in Russian No 4, Apr 80 signed to press  
25 Mar 80 pp 14-24

[Article by Army Gen A. Mayorov, candidate member of CPSU Central Committee, commander of Red Banner Baltic Military District: "The Great Victory in the Name of Peace on Earth"]

[Excerpts] Winning a victory of world-wide significance in the Great Patriotic War over the shock forces of international aggression, the Soviet Armed Forces not only upheld the honor, freedom, and independence of their motherland, but they also rid the people of many European countries of fascist enslavement and saved world civilization. The Soviet Armed Forces partially or completely liberated the territory of 10 European countries with a total area of 1 million square kilometers and a population of 113 million people. The Soviet Army's heroic struggle had decisive significance in driving the German-fascist aggressors from all the European countries.

In striving to accelerate the establishment of peace and rid the peoples of further sacrifices and suffering as well as accomplishing its alliance obligations, in 9 August 1945 our country entered the war against Japan. Together with the troops of the Mongolian Peoples Republic and with the participation of China's national liberation troops and the Korean partisans, the Soviet Armed Forces smashed the million-man Japanese Guangdong Army and liberated Northeast China and North Korea. Brought to the edge of catastrophe, militaristic Japan was forced to sign the statement of unconditional surrender on 2 September. Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, which had been treacherously seized by Japan in the past, were returned to our motherland.

The victory of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces over German fascism and Japanese militarism led to a serious change in the correlation of class forces in the world arena and had tremendous revolutionary influence on the postwar development of mankind. "This victory," it is noted in the Soviet constitution, "strengthened the authority and international positions of the USSR and opened new favorable possibilities for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy, and peace." The consequences of our victory are manifested in the mighty step of world socialism, the steady growth of the communist and workers movement, and in the initiation of profound progressive transformations in states freed from colonial dependence.

The defeat of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan was accomplished by the joint efforts of many peoples. The troops of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Albania and, after popular uprisings, of Bulgaria and Rumania, waged a brave struggle against the fascist aggressors together with the Soviet Army and Navy. The peoples and armies of the United States, Great Britain, France, Canada, and other states of the anti-Hitler coalition made their contribution to the defeat of fascism. Participants in the Resistance, fighters of national-liberation forces, and partisans fought the aggressors in the occupied countries. However, the main force which blocked German fascism's path toward world domination was the Soviet people and their Armed Forces.

The victory in the Great Patriotic War graphically demonstrated the invincible might of the Soviet state and the inexhaustible capabilities and might of the socialist economy and political organization of society. For in the Great Patriotic War the economy and social structure of the warring sides, their political system, and their ideology opposed one another on the fields of battle along with the Armed Forces which directly determined the course and outcome of the war. Two opposite systems for organizing society clashed in mortal combat: the Soviet socialist system and fascism--that monstrous result of state-monopolistic capital.

The invincible might of our Armed Forces was based on the firm foundation of the socialist economy. During the war years, the socialist economy ensured our state's ability to mobilize its material resources quickly and to utilize them efficiently in the interests of victory. In a short time, the Soviet state managed to rebuild the national economy on a war footing, develop a war industry, and supply an army of many millions with the latest means of armed conflict.

One of the chief sources of the victory over the fascist aggressors was the indestructible friendship of the Soviet peoples. In working out their plans for armed attack against the USSR, ringleaders of fascist Germany counted on the weakness of the alliance of fraternal peoples; they thought that after the first strikes of the German army uprisings would begin, dissidence would begin, and the USSR would break up into component parts.

However, the course of the war completely overturned these calculations. The peoples of our country rose up unanimously for the defense of the Soviet motherland and their friendship and unity which had been formed in the pre-war period became even stronger. "If we speak of the main hero of the Great Patriotic War," stressed L. I. Brezhnev, "then this immortal hero is the entire harmonious family of peoples who populate our country and are united by the indestructible bonds of brotherhood. Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Moldavians, Latvians, Kirgizians, Tadzhiks, Turkmenians, Estonians. In short, the sons of all peoples of the Soviet Union defended their motherland with might and main. The party's Leninist national policy withstood the test of war. Fascism was unable to drive a wedge between the socialist nations. Their fraternal union showed its strength and vitality, being one of the main sources of the victory over the fascist aggressors" ("Leninskim kursom" [Following the Lenin Course], Vol 1, p 137).



Our victory in the Great Patriotic War was the triumph of the Soviet social and state system which demonstrated its exceptional vitality and stability. During the difficult war years the Soviet state, relying on the high organization and consciousness of the working class and of all workers and under the party's leadership showed itself to be the best political form for organizing the people, ensuring the successful defense of the socialist fatherland.

The results of the war showed convincingly the indisputable superiority of a socialist state's military organization over the military organization of the imperialist states. The Soviet Armed Forces, created on the basis of Lenin principles for military organizational development, smashed the strongest, most technically equipped army of the capitalist world, one having great combat experience. Our army and navy surpassed the enemy in their technical equipment, combat skill, and morale. Their boundless devotion and loyalty to the motherland, the party, and the cause of communism were expressed most brilliantly in the heroism of the men of the army and navy.

We obtained the victory at a dear price. The war took away the lives of more than 20 million Soviet people. The fascists turned into ruins 1,710 of our cities and city-type settlements, more than 70,000 towns and villages, 42,000 industrial enterprises, 91,000 kolkhozes, and 1,876 sovkhoses. They destroyed 65,000 kilometers of railroad track, blew up and stole 16,000 locomotives and 428,000 railroad cars, and destroyed and sacked 40,000 hospitals, 84,000 schools technical schools, higher educational institutions, scientific research institutes, and 43,000 libraries. The Hitlerite barbarians caused tremendous damage to the numerous historic and artistic treasures of the Soviet Union. Our country lost about 30 percent of its national wealth.

Since the salvos of the Great Patriotic War have thundered away, the Soviet Union, having healed the wounds of war, achieved remarkable successes in all fields of public life. The Soviet people are occupied with peaceful creative labor. The Communist Party and the Soviet state are steadily implementing the Lenin principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and are constantly struggling to strengthen peace as a necessary condition for the building of communism. The consistent implementation of the program of peace put forth by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses by the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries permitted the attainment of an improvement in the international political climate and breaking the tragic cycle where peace was only a short breathing space between world wars. All Soviet people are proud of these historic results. All progressive mankind supports this policy.

However, as events show, the improvement of the international climate does not suit the reactionary imperialist circles. Although the capabilities of imperialism's aggressive actions are now curtailed considerably, its nature remains unchanged. The opponents of detente and disarmament, it was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, still possess many resources and are operating

actively, in various forms and from various directions. Recent events show that, covering their treacherous intentions behind hypocritical shouts about an imaginary "Soviet threat," they are intensifying the arms race, strengthening NATO, speeding up the production of destructive means of mass destruction, and increasing military budgets from year to year.

The United States is setting the tone for all the West's preparations. It has doubled expenditures for these purposes during 10 years. Washington's new five-year program envisages a further increase in the arms race. Thus, in the 1981 fiscal year the United States plans to appropriate more than 160 billion dollars for military purposes or more than 25 percent of the country's entire budget. In recent years the United States, striving to intimidate our country and other peoples, threatened nuclear war 19 times, in which regard its strategic bombers were brought to a combat-readiness state in 10 cases and were sent toward the borders of the USSR and other socialist states.

At the boundary of the 1970's and 1980's, the leading circles of the United States and several other states are swinging onto the path of dangerous political adventures more and more frankly, heightening the arms race, intensifying the military danger, and have set forth on a course to undermine detente and restore the atmosphere of the "cold war." The programs for a further increase in NATO's military efforts which were adopted by its council under pressure of the United States are proof of this. The plan for emplacing American missiles directed against the USSR and its allies on the territory of Western European countries is especially dangerous. Realization of this plan sharply increases the threat of military conflict on the European continent with the employment of nuclear weapons. Together with its accomplices, the United States organized imperialist aggression against the Afghan people and has embarked on aggravating Soviet-American relations. Hypocritically hiding behind slanderous fabrications on the role of our country in Afghan events, they are coarsely interfering in the internal affairs of other states, trying to assume the "right" to dictate their systems in any region of the world.

Under these conditions the CPSU and the Soviet government, considering the acuteness and contradictory nature of the international situation, are combining the struggle for peace and international security with constant vigilance in regard to the aggressive intrigues of imperialist reaction and the Beijing hegemonists who are striving to undermine peace and are displaying great concern for strengthening the country's defensive capability and increasing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

The Soviet Armed Forces come forth as the reliable guardian of our motherland's security and bulwark of universal peace. Thanks to the constant concern of the party, the government, and the entire Soviet people and thanks to the remarkable successes of the Soviet economy, science, and technology, our Armed Forces have available the most modern weapons and everything necessary for the crushing defeat of any aggressor.

The men of the Red Banner Baltic Military District, which is 40 years old on 13 August, are occupying a worthy place in the united combat formation of the motherland's armed defenders. The district was created in the summer of 1940 to provide for the security of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian SSR's and to cover reliably the coast of the Baltic Sea and the land border with East Prussia. In less than a year, being on an important strategic direction, the troops of the district, which had been converted into the Northwest Front, were among the first to receive the strike of the German-fascist war machine. Tempered in the fire of defensive battles in the summer of 1941, the Baltic fighters then smashed the enemy at Leningrad and Moscow, on the banks of the Volga and the Dnepr, on the Kursk Bulge, and in Belorussia. The present generation of the district's men is the heir to the glory of the large units and units which liberated the Soviet Baltic, smashed the enemy in East Prussia, and stormed the fortress-city of Koenigsberg. For its great contribution to the cause of strengthening the defensive might of the Soviet state and its armed defense and successes in combat and political training, by Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 15 January 1974 the district was awarded the Order of the Red Banner. During the postwar years, more than 3,000 men of the district have been awarded orders and medals for high combat skill and the successful mastery of equipment and weapons. The men of the district are greeting the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the 35th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War, and the 40th anniversary of the Red Banner Baltic District with new achievements in raising combat readiness and combat and political training.

Fascism was thrown down 35 years ago. The Soviet people have been living and working under peaceful conditions for 35 years. The peoples of the European countries have known no war for more than a third of a century. This is a great achievement. But the lessons of the last war and its prehistory call us to be vigilant. The danger of an outbreak of new wars and military conflicts remains as long as imperialism exists on Earth. Therefore, the Soviet servicemen, including the men of our district, in a united formation with the men of the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states, will henceforth stand guard over peace and the building of communism, too. They are always ready to justify the high confidence of their peoples and to accomplish their party and international duty with honor.

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VICTORY DAY ARTICLE: COLONEL GENERAL VOLOSHIN

Kishinev KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII in Russian No 4, Apr 80 signed to press 8 Apr 80  
pp 60-69

[Article by Col Gen I. Voloshin, deputy to the Supreme Soviet USSR, commander of Red Banner Odessa Military District: "The Majestic Exploit of the Soviet People"]

[Excerpts] The defeat of German fascism, and then of Japanese militarism, led to the fall of reactionary regimes in a number of states of Europe and Asia and to the victory of socialist revolutions in them and the formation of the world socialist system. The victory over fascism created favorable conditions for the further development of the international communist and worker movement and contributed to the powerful rise of the national-liberation struggle which entailed the downfall of imperialism's colonial system. As a result, basic changes in the disposition and correlation of forces took place in the world arena in favor of democracy and socialism. Imperialism--the main culprit in World War II, which nurtured fascism--was deprived of the opportunity to decide the fates of peoples with impunity.

The most obvious lesson of history which follows from our great victory is that imperialism engendered World War II and brought to the peoples innumerable sacrifices and privations, while socialism in the person of the Soviet state was the decisive force which stood in the path of aggression, stopped it, and threw the aggressors back. That is how it was. And that is how it will be in the future. The peoples of the planet were convinced of this with their own eyes. Both our allies and our opponents admit this publicly.

At the same time, it should not be forgotten for a minute that there are influential aggressive forces in the world which, disregarding the lessons of history, nevertheless hope to change the course of events in their favor. The ruling circles of the Western countries are also conducting their old, bankrupt policy directed against socialism, peace, and the freedom of peoples under the new conditions which have developed after World War II. Stepping forth as the main bulwark of world reaction and aggression are the imperialists of the United States who have created a giant war apparatus and formed a dense network of aggressive imperialist blocs, military bases, and



installations whose point is directed primarily against the USSR and the other states of the socialist commonwealth.

Practice shows that imperialism has not changed its reactionary nature but, on the contrary, has increased the cruelty of its aggressive nature. Conducting a policy of dictation and hegemonism and trying to impose its will on peoples "from a position of strength," the United States is now keeping more than half a million of its soldiers in dozens of countries. Armadas of American warships threateningly plow the oceans tens of thousands of kilometers from their shores. During the period from 1946 through 1980 alone, the United States had recourse to the use of its armed forces in various areas of the world many dozens of times, in so doing threatening the employment of nuclear weapons.

Now the international situation and, first of all, Soviet-American relations, have again become noticeably complicated. Obviously to please militant reaction and to counterbalance the proposals of the Soviet Union concerning talks on the reduction of medium-range missiles and its unilateral steps in reducing Soviet troops and combat equipment on the territory of the GDR, the United States of America has embarked on a course of blocking the SALT-2 treaty and has proclaimed the so-called "doctrine of military containment at forward positions" and the Pentagon's five-year program which envisages a further stimulation of the arms race to include imposing on its NATO partners the decision for the production and emplacement of approximately an additional 600 American "Pershing-2" missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Speculating on events in Iran and especially in Afghanistan, the ruling clique initiated anti-Soviet hysteria in its country. Under the pretext of a "Soviet threat" which it has invented, a 110,000-man "rapid deployment force" is being created, the American presence in the zone of the Indian Ocean is being reinforced, the flow of arms to Israel and Pakistan is being built up, and new military bases are being created in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Oman, and Saudi Arabia.

The actions of American imperialism are completely supported by the rulers of China who have been thirsting for a clash between the USSR and the United States for a long time, striving to extract certain advantages for themselves from this.

We are already familiar with this "cold war" policy. It suffered complete failure at one time. An inglorious end also awaits it now. Imperialism should have learned long ago that no threats intimidate the Soviet Union. It should be conversed with only in the language of reason, realism, and mutual advantage.

We have never threatened anyone. And we do not threaten. This is not our custom and contradicts our policy. In their very social nature, aggressive aspirations are foreign to socialism. Each Soviet person is sincerely striving for a firm peace, for the flourishing of his native country. The creative labor of the country is always under reliable protection. Speaking on

On February of this year before the electors of the Bauman election district, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR, Chairman of the USSR Defense Council, and Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade L. I. Brezhnev declared with all firmness: "The Central Committee can assure the Soviet people that we have everything necessary to give a rebuff to any military provocations. The peaceful future of the Soviet power is ensured, and ensured reliably."

Right after the 35th anniversary of the victory, the Soviet people and the men of our Armed Forces together with the peoples and armies of the fraternal socialist states will mark the 25th anniversary of the defensive organization of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Together with the servicemen of the socialist countries, the personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces are accomplishing their sacred duty to defend the peace and security of the peoples in a holy manner. Our fraternal armies are linked by strong ties of combat collaboration which has been strengthened by the blood spilled in the joint struggle against German fascism. This collaboration received further development in the routine soldierly days and in joint training campaigns.

The heirs to the combat glory of their fathers and grandfathers, the servicemen of the 1980's are people with a lofty citizen's duty, profound communist culture, and iron discipline, competent and industrious men. Their every day is devoted to increasing political vigilance and combat readiness and improving professional skill and field and aerial ability. And each day gives rise to heroes of routine soldierly days. Such is the specific nature of army service.

Serving alongside the sons of other peoples in a worthy manner in the defense of their socialist motherland are the men, officers, and generals who are natives of Soviet Moldavia, many of whom are serving in our district. Each one has his own character, his own habits and inclinations, and his own fate. But, as a rule, they are all performing their military duty with honor.

It should be stressed that the Moldavian SSR is devoting much attention to mass-defense work and the military-patriotic indoctrination of the youth as well as to the training of the youth for soldierly labor. All this has a beneficial effect on the rapid professional development of the young soldiers.

In implementing the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and realizing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On further improvement of ideological and political-indoctrinational work," and the task formulated in it, "Intensify the military-patriotic indoctrination of the youth and the preparation of the youths for military service," local party and soviet organs, Komsomol organizations, military commissariats, the republic voluntary defense society, and councils of veterans are persistently seeking new reserves in the indoctrination of the rising generations.

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UNITED NATIONS ARMED FORCES: ROLE DESCRIBED

LD071247 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by A. Kozyrev, candidate of historical sciences, under rubric "We Recount at Readers' Request": "To Keep the Peace"--first graf is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers A. Mikadze of Volgodonsk, I. Danilov of Bashkiria and others asked us to describe the UN armed forces and their purpose.

The creation and use of UN armed forces is one of the possibilities that, according to its charter, the United Nations has at its disposal to maintain international peace and security in cases where the Security Council determines the existence of a threat to peace, a violation of peace or an act of aggression and takes the relevant decision. It is important to stress that the charter contains precise and clear provisions on this score. The charter provisions prescribe that only one UN organ--the Security Council--is entitled to take action on behalf of the United Nations, especially action involving the use of armed forces. The activity of this organ is based on a key principle of the UN charter designed to ensure correct and effective decisions by the council: the unanimity of its permanent members--the USSR, the United States, Britain, France and China, which bear a special responsibility for maintaining international peace. The charter gives no other UN organ, including even the General Assembly, the right to take action on the organization's behalf. The Security Council alone is empowered to decide all the questions relating to the creation of UN armed forces, the definition of their tasks and the forces' composition and numerical strength, the leadership of their operations, the command structure, the time the forces remain in the zone of operations and also the procedure for financing the relevant expenditure.

According to the charter, UN armed forces are created by the Security Council solely from the national contingents of ground, air and naval forces placed at the council's disposal by UN member states at the council's demand and in accordance with special agreements between it and the UN member states.

These agreements, which determine the numerical strength and category of the forces, their degree of readiness, their location and the nature of the servicing facilities and assistance being offered, are subject to approval by the council, with observance of the principle of unanimity. Plans for using the armed forces are drawn up by the Security Council with the aid of a military staff committee.

As for the UN Secretary General, as the organization's main administrator, he must use every means available to him to promote the fulfillment of the relevant Security Council decisions.

The unswerving and consistent observance of the charter on this question is of key, decisive importance. It represents a guarantee against abuse of the use of force under the UN flag, against the possibility of the United Nations being used counter to the legitimate interests of states, especially small states, and against the use of the organization's armed forces in the narrow interests individual groups of countries.

Attempts to use UN forces in this way, contrary to the interests of peace, have been made under pressure from reactionary imperialist circles. It is quite intolerable that, contrary to the will of the majority of UN members, U.S. forces should still be in South Korea, illegally using the UN flag as a cover. This American forces' presence, which has nothing to do with UN peace-keeping functions, is currently the main obstacle to the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

The Soviet Union, one of the founders of the United Nations, consistently advocates increasing the United Nations' effectiveness on the basis of strict observance of the charter. However, the policy of the Western powers, and, in recent times, China also, which often engage in connivance and even encourage the forces of aggression and tyranny, seriously restricts the United Nations' ability to act in accordance with the charter. This is affecting the UN peace-keeping forces active at the moment. The military staff committee is paralyzed. The provisions whereby states conclude agreements with the Security Council on putting their armed forces at the council's disposal if it so demands are not being observed. In recent years a negative vote ("veto") by the United States and also Great Britain has repeatedly blocked the Security Council's adoption of measures envisaged by the UN charter, including coercive measures which would at last make the Israeli expansionists of South African racists meet the wishes of the international community and halt their aggression against other countries and peoples. The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its readiness to support legal proposals on this score put forward by developing and nonaligned countries.

For a number of years now the special committee set up by the UN General Assembly, known as the Committee of 33 (after the number of members), has been unable to carry out its task of elaborating the guidelines for the use of UN armed forces. This is the result of the position of the West which is striving to preserve the anticharter practice, imposed by the United States back during the cold war, whereby effective leadership of operations was placed in the hands of the UN Secretary General and secretariat officials.



Currently, by decree of the Security Council, there is a UN peace-keeping force in Cyprus, established in 1964, a UN disengagement observer force stationed on the Syrian-Israeli front since 1974 and the UN interim forces organized in Lebanon in 1978. Apart from UN forces, there is a small group of military observers in the Near East which is an integral part of the UN truce supervision organization in Palestine, set up by the Security Council back in 1948. In summer 1979 the UN emergency force (UNEF), which had been positioned in areas of confrontation between Egyptian and Israeli forces since 1973, ceased to exist. The disbandment of UNEF occurred because the Security Council did not extend the force's term of service which had expired. This was a reflection of the resolute stance of many countries, primarily Arab countries, supported by the USSR, on the inadmissibility of the use of UNEF in the implementation of the Egyptian-Israeli separate deal.

[LD071249] The UN forces are equipped with defensive weapons and they do not use force except in self-defense.

The realization of the great opportunities enshrined in the UN charter is the way to attain the lofty goal which is one of the chief purposes of the United Nations, set up as a result of the victory over fascism in World War II: to spare future generations the calamities of war and do everything possible to ensure that "armed forces are used only in common interests."

This is sharply contradicted by the aspirations of the United States and a number of other Western powers. As recent events in Africa and the Caribbean Sea region and also Washington's threats against Iran and certain other Persian Gulf states have shown, these aspirations can only lead to the appearance of new dangerous seats of tension and the exacerbation of old ones and adversely affect the international situation in general. "Statesmanship is not a matter of 'reacting quickly' with machinegun and rifle," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said. "The main thing is to react correctly, taking into account the objective realities of the modern world, and to seek a peaceful solution to problems."

It is this approach that accords with the spirit and letter of the UN charter.

CSO: 1801

BOOK REVIEW: MEMOIRS OF MILITARY JUSTICE OFFICER

LD291441 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jul 80 p 2

["Notes About Books" by V. Maslov, Doctor of Juridical Sciences Justice Colonel in the Reserve: "Guarding Law and Order"]

[Excerpts] Precise law and order and great vigilance are an essential condition of the strength of the Soviet state and its armed forces. Let Gen Justice (ret'd) N. Chistyakov's book "In Conformity with the Law and Conscience," published by Voenizdat, (Footnote) (N. Chistyakov. "In Conformity with the Law and Conscience," [Po Zakonu i Sovesti]. Military Memoirs, Military Literature Publishing House, 1979, pp 256, price R-.10) recounts how military justice organs help to maintain strong military discipline and to assert law and order.

The author devoted many years of his life to work in the state security and military justice organs. His recollections of the events in which he participated form the basis of the book. Using specific examples from practice, he shows how military justice organs assert justice, legality and law and order by their activity and ensure the observance of Soviet laws, which reliably guarantee every serviceman, irrespective of his rank and official position, the opportunity to enjoy the extensive rights granted to him by the USSR constitution and to conscientiously and skillfully perform the duties entrusted to him under military service.

The book describes certain criminal cases investigated by its author in the line of official duty in the postwar period. The cases relating to people who encroached on the Soviet state's security are of special interest. One of these is the case of the American air spy Francis Powers. Enlisting a tremendous amount of material and documents, the book shows how the American military, together with the CIA and with the U.S. President's approval, prepared this provocative spy flight and how the flight, like other adventures of this kind, was a resounding failure. It failed, as the author stresses, because the Soviet armed forces vigilantly guard the Soviet people's peaceful labor and because in our country the people and the army are united.

The author recalls the trial of the Powers case. It was a trial not only of Powers, but also of American imperialism, the inspirer and organizer of

crimes against peace and the people's security. The trial, the book says, showed that U.S. reactionary circles will stoop to anything in their struggle against the forces of peace, criminally flout the norms of international law and crudely violate other states' national sovereignty. This policy continues even now. American imperialist forces have of late hotted up the international situation to the limit. They are strenuously spurring on the arms race and seeking to disrupt the prevailing equilibrium of forces. This obliges Soviet servicemen to step up their vigilance, to master military matters still more persistently and to strengthen the Soviet state's defense might.

The author cites cogent facts showing how Soviet people's vigilance and ideological alertness have contributed to the timely revelation and exposure of imperialist agents and saboteurs and to suppressing their criminal activity. Revolutionary vigilance, the book says, is the moral and political quality of Soviet people which is displayed in the ability to expose enemies, no matter how cunning and resourceful they may be, no matter how they conceal their true intentions and actions. Revolutionary vigilance is an integral part of Soviet patriotism, which is based on boundless devotion to one's people, to the communist party and to the government.

N. Chistyakov's book "In Conformity with the Law and Conscience" is valuable for its documentary approach. The author writes of things he has witnessed. That is the reason why his every word is persuasive and weighty. The book teaches us vigilance, the strict observance of Soviet laws, and profound understanding of our duty to the Soviet motherland. That is its special value.

There can be no doubt that it will help solve the tasks that commanders, political organizers and military justice organs are currently set by the provisions of the new USSR constitution and the CPSU Central Committee resolution on improving work to protect law and order and stepping up the struggle against crime.

CSO: 1801

VICTORY DAY ARTICLES BY MAR SU OGARKOV, GEN YEPISHEV

Article by Marshal Ogarkov

Moscow OKTYABR' in Russian No 5, May 80 signed to press 8 May 80 pp 3-10

[Article by Mar SU N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and first deputy minister of defense: "An Immortal Feat"]

/Text/ Victory Day is a great and joyous day for the USSR. Thirty five years ago the Soviet people and the Armed Forces under the leadership of the Communist Party accomplished an immortal feat - the routing of the forces of fascism and militarism and the gaining of a world-wide historical victory in World War II.

This victory was a bright demonstration of the strength and invincibility of socialism and the celebration of the cause of the October Revolution. "When the red banner, which had been hoisted by Soviet soldiers, was flying over the Reichstag," said L.I. Brezhnev, "it was not just the banner of our military victory. It was the immortal banner of the October Revolution; it was the great banner of Lenin; it was the invincible banner of socialism.

1

The history of mankind has known many great and small wars. But World War II, which was prepared by the forces of international imperialist reaction and launched by the primary aggressive governments of German, Italy and Japan, has had no equal in its political goals, scope and bitterness. Sixty-one governments were involved in the war; 80 percent of the world's population were drawn in. For 2,194 days and nights the fire of war lay upon the territory of 40 nations of Europe, Asia and Africa, on the expanses of all the world's oceans and cost a colossal number of lives - more than 50 million people.



The events of WWII are receding into history. But time will not erase those terrible years from the memory of the generations.

WWII did not break out suddenly. It was prepared systematically and earnestly by international imperialism. We recall the 1930s. The wounds of WWI were still bleeding, and within the bowels of the capitalist world, which was seized by a cruel economic crisis and torn apart by the sharp contradictions in the struggle for world domination, the ominous rumble of a new world war, the danger of which grew sharply when the fascist party came to power in Germany, was heard.

The ruling circles of the western powers played a significant role in the rebirth of German militarism and the strengthening of fascism. Blinded by their hatred of socialism and not wishing to understand the expansionist goals of fascism represented a fatal threat to their own countries and people, they not only quietly watched as the Hitler clique created a military machine but also gave it generous economic aid.

The history of how international imperialism gradually pulled the people of the world into a new world war is well known: in 1931 Japan occupied Manchuria and other areas of China; in 1935 Italy intervened in Ethiopia; in 1936 Germany and Italy used military intervention in the Spanish Civil War; and in 1938 Germany seized Austria. The culminating event on the eve of WWII was the Munich arrangement, as a result of which the governments of the western powers actually betrayed Czechoslovakia and handed it over to the machinations of fascist Germany. The logical extension of the policy of "pacification" of the aggressor was the Anglo-German and Franco-German declarations of non-aggression of 1938, which were actually an attempt to form an alliance of western powers with the fascists of Germany and Italy and to give them a free hand against the USSR. As for fascism, in seeking world domination, it considered its primary goal to fight against communism, against the world's first socialist government.

During this alarming time the Soviet Union, steadily pursuing peace and fully supporting the just struggle of the people of Europe and Asia against the forces of fascism, militarism and internal reaction, repeatedly took the initiative to create on the European continent a system of collective security capable of restraining the Hitlerist aggressors and preventing the threat of the advancing world war. However the ruling circles of England and France, supported by the USA, did everything they could to sabotage the Soviet proposals and by their policy of "non-aggression" urged fascist Germany and militarist Japan toward war against the socialist government.

Under the growing threat of a new world war the Communist Party and the Soviet government with alacrity faced the urgent task of frustrating the plans of world reaction in regard to the world's first socialist state. The Soviet Union was compelled in August of 1939 to reach an agreement of non-aggression with Germany and in April 1941 an agreement of neutrality with Japan. This successive peaceable policy made it possible to gain the time needed to strengthen the defense of the Soviet Union and to avoid the simultaneous strike of the united forces of imperialism from the West and East.

The strategists of London and Paris severely miscalculated: the fire of WWII, which they fanned and forcefully directed against the USSR, turned instead against themselves. During the period of 1939 to 1940 one after the other Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and Luxemborg fell under the blows of the fascist German army. Within a short period of time France had also fallen. England was in an extremely bad situation. While expanding its "elbow room", Germany seized Yugoslavia and Greece and led troops into Finland, Bulgaria and Romania. Only the Soviet Union remained as the main obstacle to fascist Germany's world domination.

When the clouds of war gather at the borders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people under the leadership of the Party, continuing to build socialism, simultaneously strengthened the defense of the nation. The successes of socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolution had created the necessary requirements for raising the combat effectiveness and combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces. They were quickly outfitted with new equipment and arms; the organizational structure was improved; questions of military art were developed and the quality of operational and combat readiness was increased. Much attention was given to the preparation and education of command, political and engineering and technical personnel. As the result of measures that had been taken by the Party and government by the middle of 1941 the number of rifle divisions has increased more than 2-fold; and the total number of the Soviet Armed Forces as compared with 1939 had grown by nearly 3-fold.

Unfortunately, history had given the Soviet Union too short a period of time to convert the once backward agrarian Russia into an advanced industrial-farm power and to create a solid defense on this basis. On June 22, 1941, the enemy treacherously violated Soviet territory: Hitler's army of five and a half million with nearly 4,000 tanks, 5,000 aircraft, more than 47,000 pieces of ordnance and mortars, had made a strike against the fatherland. World War II had begun.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war following the treacherous attack of Hitler's Germany marked a turning point in the course of WWII. The people of all nations looked hopefully to the Soviet Union as the only real force capable of overthrowing fascism and returning their lost freedom.

The path of the Soviet people and its armed forces toward the joyous Victory Day was long and heavy. It took 47 months and covered many bloody battles and engagements. Using temporary advantages, the enemy was able to penetrate deeply into the Soviet Union. But, in spite of this, the spirit of the people did not fail and they did not lose faith in the ultimate victory over the aggressors.

In an extremely complicated situation, the Communist Party and the Soviet government managed with a very short time to mobilize all material and spiritual forces of the people for a holy war, to rebuild the economy for military needs and to convert the nation into a unified combat camp.

The first battles and engagements on the Soviet-German front demonstrated that this was where the outcome of the entire WWII would be decided and that the Hitlerist occupiers could not expect to make a triumphant parade throughout the entire Soviet Union. Through their bravery and heroism the defenders of Brest, Smolensk, Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and Sevastopol quickly dispelled the illusions of the fascist ringleaders about the supposed weakness of the social and ideological foundations of Soviet society and its armed forces. In less than a month from the start of the war the enemy lost nearly 100,000 soldiers and officers, more than half of its initial number of tanks and more than 1,200 aircraft.

The main event of the first period of the war is rightfully considered to be the historical battle near Moscow in 1941-1942. In heavy defensive battles in the fields near Moscow the Soviet troops exhausted and bled the enemy; then, switching to a counter attack, drove him 100 to 250 kilometers from the Soviet capital and then pushed him further to the west. The victory of the Soviet troops near Moscow seriously shook the fascist military machine and buried Hitler's plan for a blitzkrieg against the USSR. This was the beginning of a radical turn in WWII. Fascist Germany made an even more shattering strike on the Volga River in 1942-1943. The Victory of the Soviet Armed Forces near Stalingrad marked the beginning of a radical turning point both in the Great Fatherland War and in the entire Second World War. The massive expulsion of the enemy from Soviet territory had begun.

In the summer of 1943 near Orel and Belgorod the German fascist high command made a desperate attempt to again seize the strategic initiative and change the course of the war in their favor. However these plans were not fated to be successful. In a gigantic engagement on the Kursk arch the Soviet troops inflicted a heavy defeat upon the enemy. Having lost here more than a half million men, 1,500 tanks, more than 3,700 aircraft and 3,000 heavy guns, fascist Germany faced catastrophe and was forced to once and for all switch to strategic defense on all fronts of WWII.

In 1944 during large strategic operations near Leningrad, in the Crimea, on the right bank of the Ukraine, in Belorussia, Moldavia, the Baltic and in the polar regions the Soviet Armed Forces fully rid Soviet land of the fascist aggressors and, launching a victorious advance to the west, began to liberate the peoples of Europe from the yoke of Hitler's occupiers.

The victorious finale of the Great Fatherland War was the grandiose Battle for Berlin, during which the Soviet troops crushed almost one million of the enemy. The banner of Soviet victory flew proudly over prostrated Berlin, while the standards of the "invincible" Hitlerist army lay at the feet of the Soviet people, the victors. Soon after, having extinguished the conflagration of WWII in the Far East and fulfilled the alliance obligations in accordance with the anti-Hitler coalition, the Soviet Armed Forces and the troops of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic crushed the Quantung army and freed the people of several Asian nations from the Japanese aggressors.

In the Great Fatherland War, the longest and most severe war in Soviet history, the Soviet people and their armed forces accomplished a feat the equal to which man has not known. The greatness of this feat is that we not only saved the freedom and independence of the fatherland but that we saved European and world civilization from the fascist barbarians.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Fatherland War was completely in order, its foundations lay in the enormous social and economic achievements of our people during the years of Soviet power. The war clearly proved the vitality and superiority of socialism over capitalism in economic, political, ideological and military areas. Soviet victory was a clear celebration of the moral and political unity of Soviet society and the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

The great leader, organizer and commander-in-chief of the Soviet people in the Great Fatherland War was the Communist Party of Lenin. Having assumed leadership of a fighting people, the Party combined the political, economic, military and ideological leadership of the nation. As L.I. Brezhnev noted, "The



Party's Central Committee from the beginning to the end passed through the difficult days of the war. It was the headquarters from which the highest political and strategic leadership of military actions was carried out." More than half of the members of the Communist Party were in uniform. Communists showed an example of fearlessness and heroism, inspiring their comrades in arms to heroic feats.

In the bitter struggle with the strong and experienced armies of fascist Germany and militarist Japan the valorous Soviet Armed Forces emerged victorious. In the fire of battle millions of Soviet soldiers were tempered and became men; with great skill they crushed the hated enemy on the land and in the air, on the water and beneath the water. During the war the defenders of the Soviet Fatherland were given nearly 14 million medals and decorations for their peerless bravery and heroism; and the successful combat actions of units, ships and formations of Soviet Armed Forces were marked by 10,900 awards.

The victory in the Great Fatherland War demonstrated the convincing superiority of Soviet military art over that of the fascist army. During the Great Fatherland War the most complicated problems of the theory of the deep operation were successfully solved; this theory had been developed by Soviet military science even before the war. In the battles for the Fatherland Soviet military science was enriched by experience in organizing and performing of the counteroffensive and strategic offensive operations. It was during the war that the form of strategic offensive, as an operation of a group of fronts, came into being, was given broad theoretical justification and practical application. The joint efforts of the unified organizations and formations of all branches of the armed

forces seized space up to a 1,000 kilometers along the front and hundreds of kilometers in the depth and were characterized by the high rates of offense and resulted, as a rule, in the encirclement and defeat of large groupings of the enemy. This was a basically new phenomenon in Soviet military art.

Many strategic, front and army operations, which were performed by Soviet troops during the war, are still considered to be world examples of military art, and attest to the great talent of Soviet military leaders, the combat maturity of commanders and political workers and to the heroism of the Soviet people and the force of Soviet fire power.

The Soviet Armed Forces were firmly and skillfully by the Supreme High Command General Headquarters, headed by I.V. Stalin, and its basic organ of control - the General Staff. The members of the Supreme High Command General Headquarters and the chiefs of the General Staff during the Great Fatherland War

made a great personal contribution to the victory over the enemy. The chiefs of the general staff included G.K. Zhukov, A.M. Vasilevskiy, B.M. Shaposhnikov and A.I. Antonov.

Great skill in commanding the troops of the fronts and the fleets was shown by I.Kh. Bagramyan, N.F. Vatutin, L.A. Govorov, A.G. Golovko, A.I. Yeremenko, I.S. Konev, R.Ya. Malinovskiy, K.A. Meretskov, F.S. Oktyabr'skiy, I.Ye. Petrov, M.M. Popov, K.K. Rokossovskiy, V.D. Sokolovskiy, I.I. Tolbukhin, V.I. Tributs, I.D. Chernyakhovskiy, I.S. Yumashev and others. The staffs of the fronts and the commands and staffs of the armies gave much work to the preparation and carrying out of operations.

The outcome of the struggle with the hated enemy was determined not only on the battle fields. In the rear under the leadership of the Party a battle was waged for metal and fuel, for combat equipment and for bread. During the war the Soviet Union produced almost twice as much military equipment as fascist Germany and its satellites put together. Due to the selfless labor of the workers, engineers, scientists and designers an increasing amount of tanks, aircraft, heavy guns and rifles reached the front, all of which exceeded in quality that which the Hitlerist Wehrmacht had. The activists of Soviet culture and science toiled selflessly on behalf of victory over the aggressor.

Soviet Leninist foreign policy also gained victory during the war. One of its great successes was the creation of a powerful anti-Hitler coalition, which by the end of the war combined more than 50 governments with differing social orders.

In the battles against the common enemy a combat alliance of the Soviet Union with the people of the nations of Central and South-Eastern Europe was born and tempered. Patriots of Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania joined with the Soviet Armed Forces against the fascist aggressors to wage combat.

The victory over the forces of fascism and militarism in WWII was achieved by the efforts of the people and armies of many nations. However, the Soviet Union was the main force in the struggle against fascism; the Soviet Union bore most of the weight of the war and played a decisive role in the defeat of the enemy. The Soviet-German front in its scope, intensity and achieved results throughout the Great Fatherland War was the main front of the entire WWII. It was here that the basic forces of the fascist bloc were crushed and encaptured - 607 divisions, while on all other fronts there were only 176 divisions. In the war against the USSR Hitler's Germany lost ten million officers and men, which represented 80 percent of its total losses.

The Soviet Union's victory in the Great Fatherland War had an enormous influence upon the revolutionary transformations in many nations and upon the placement of the class forces in the world arena. Some of the nations of Europe with a total population of more than 100 million people took the path of democracy and socialism. Several governments of South East Asia abandoned the capitalist system.

The results of the Great Fatherland War once again demonstrated that imperialism is powerless to stop the forward movement of socialism and there are no forces in the world which could bring the great Soviet people to their knees. The policy of force against the mighty Soviet state, which has a modern armed forces, is fraught with perilous consequences for any aggressor. These results are the unforgettable lesson of history and a threatening warning to those taken with military adventurism.

3

For more than a third of a century the Soviet people and the people of other European nations have lived and worked in peaceful conditions. This was achieved because of the radical change in the correlation of forces in favor of socialism and as the result of the subsequent foreign policy activity of the Communist Party and the Soviet government and the persistent struggle of the socialist nations and all progressive forces for peace and social progress. This has become possible because of the increased force and strength of the heroic Soviet Armed Forces, which in cooperation with the armies of the brotherly nations of socialism are now a reliable bulwark of peace and international security.

During the post-war period the Soviet people under the leadership of its proven vanguard, the Communist Party, achieved grandiose successes in their economic, social-political and spiritual life. The most important result of its selfless labor was the building in the USSR of a society of developed socialism. New successes in the further development of the national economy and the raising of the well-being of the workers have been achieved by the Soviet people during the four years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

The accomplishment of the great plans for the building of communism is organically linked with a peaceful life. This is the necessary condition for the fruitful, creative labor of the Soviet people. As the result of the subsequent and steady struggle of the Soviet Union to carry out the Program of peace that was advanced by the 24th and developed by the 25th CPSU Congress, the coordinated foreign policy activity of the brotherly nations of socialism at the price of enormous efforts of all progressive mankind has managed in recent years the development of international relations to turn away from "cold war" toward detente,

toward the peaceful cooperation of governments. One of the most important peaceful gains in the past decade was the improved health of the political climate in Europe. In his answers to a correspondent of the newspaper PRAVDA in January of this year L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that "If you are speaking broadly, the most important thing I have been able to do is to break the tragic cycle of world war, a brief respite of peace and world war again."

However, as the 1980s begin the international situation, and particularly Soviet - American relations, has been complicated noticeably. American foreign policy has taken a sharp turn away from detente and the spirit of the concluding document of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation toward confrontation with the USSR. In Washington they are making more frank declarations on the "leading role of the USA in the world".

We recall May 1978. At the same time when in New York a special session of the United Nations General Assembly was discussing disarmament, in Washington representatives-members of the NATO governments under pressure of the USA passed a long-term program for increasing military appropriations and the military potential of NATO.

To please militant circles in the USA a course has been taken to block SALT-2. Following savage attacks from the right and the military-industrial complex, the President of the USA, who only recently signed this Agreement, postponed its review in the senate for an unspecified period of time.

Continuing to lean more toward militarism, the ruling circles of the USA in December of last year thrust upon their NATO allies a decision to produce and deploy in Western Europe an additional almost 600 American "Pershing-2" missiles and cruise missiles.

And at the start of this year the USA, their NATO partners and China, openly speculating on the events in Iran and particularly in Afghanistan and intentionally distorting and dramatizing the situation in this region, unleashed a savage anti-Soviet campaign of slander.

In reality it is the American and Peking reactionary circles that as early as the spring of 1978, in essence, began an unannounced war against revolutionary Afghanistan, having thrown into its territory thousands and tens of thousands of rebels and saboteurs, who were armed and trained in dozens of special camps and bases in Pakistan. And the Soviet Union upon the repeated requests of the Afghan government, in full compliance with the UN Charter and the Soviet-Afghan Agreement of 1978,



gave effective aid to the people of Afghanistan in repulsing aggression from without. This was a timely and far sighted step which ruined the insidious scheme of imperialism and its helpers to convert Afghanistan into a beachhead on the southern border of the Soviet Union.

Fanning the unrestrained hysteria about the "Soviet threat", the USA is feverishly increasing its military might and strengthening its military presence in the Indian Ocean and speeding up the creation of a 100,000 "body of rapid response" (actually the weapons of contemplated interventions), increasing the flow of arms to Israel, Egypt and Pakistan, and seeking to create new military bases in Egypt, Somali, Kenya, Oman and Saudi Arabia.

In its shortsighted policy of heating up military tension the reactionary circles of the USA and England have found a worthy partner in the leaders of Peking. In giving them various kinds of aid, including military aid, the American and English imperialists are seeking to play the "Chinese card" in the hope of converting China into an anti-Soviet strike force, into a policeman and the basic fulcrum of reaction and counterrevolution in Asia.

But the politicians of Washington and London should not deceive themselves into thinking that China might somehow become the sixteenth member of NATO. Life has demonstrated that the heirs of Mao are thinking of themselves. They are pursuing military cooperation with the imperialist powers in the hope of breaking into the arsenals of the USA and their allies and to modernize their multi-million army and thereby to play the "American card" in their hegemonistic goals.

Apparently, the transoceanic and west European strategists have consigned to oblivion the fatal consequences, to which the actions of the ruling circles of their countries led on the eve of WWII. Such a shortsighted policy may in present day conditions like a boomerang hit first against those who play this dangerous game.

The people of earth have paid dearly for peace and therefore keep vigilant watch over the intrigues of those who love military adventurism. As always the Soviet Union is decisively against the politics of war. In a meeting with voters of the Baumanskiy Election District of Moscow L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "We contrast the doctrine of the consistent struggle for peace and security on earth with the 'doctrine' of military hysteria and the feverish arms race. We are faithful to the Program of Peace that was advanced by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses."

In pursuing this policy, the Communist Party and the Soviet government are devoting the required attention to improving the Soviet Armed Forces. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the USSR Defense Council L.I. Brezhnev has made an enormous personal contribution to this cause.

Due to the tireless concern of the Party and government and all Soviet people the Soviet Armed Forces now have the most modern arms and equipment; their combat power and combat readiness have been raised to a new height. Soviet troops - from soldier to marshal - are one in flesh and blood with their people and are always ready to defend its revolutionary gains and to honorably perform their patriotic and international duties. In their daily military service they rely upon the Leninist bidding that the first commandment of our policy and the first lesson that must be learned by all workers and farmers is to be on the alert.

The active military-patriotic education of workers and our young people serves to raise the defense power of the Soviet government. The Komsomol, trade unions, the Voluntary Society for Collaboration with the Army, Air Force and Navy and other public organizations make extensive use of all means, forms and methods of ideological work to form communist convictions, steadfastness and bravery in young people. Talented artistic compositions, which praise the great feat of Lenin's Party, the people, army and navy in the past war, promote a deep awareness of the responsibility for the security of the Fatherland. The combat glory of the Armed Forces is a priceless possession which helps to educate young people in the spirit of an ardent Soviet patriotism and internationalism and a readiness to perform the sacred duty of defending the socialist Fatherland.

The soldiers of the armies of the nations of socialist cooperation stand alongside Soviet soldiers in guarding peace and socialism. The powerful defense alliance of the socialist nations, the Warsaw Pact Organization, the guarantee of a reliable defense of the historical gains of our brotherly peoples, have stood against the forces of reaction and aggression for more than 25 years.

The 35th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Fatherland War is being greeted by the Soviet people and armed forces with enormous political and labor enthusiasm, brought about by preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress. Warmly approving and fully supporting the domestic and foreign policies of the Party, the Soviet people with confidence and optimism look to the future. Persistently struggling for the securing of peace throughout the world, the Soviet people remember the lessons of the past war and are doing everything possible to ensure a reliable defense capacity for their Fatherland.

Article by General Yepishev

Moscow MOSKVA in Russian No 5, May 50 signed to press 10 Apr  
50 pp 3-10

/Article by General of the Army A. Yepishev, chief of the Main  
Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy: "Results  
of the Great Feat"7

/Excerpts/ The nearer the hour of victory the more effective  
became the Party-political work among the troops. This work is  
a powerful weapon, which makes it possible to unite the person-  
nel of the army and navy around the Party of Lenin, for leading  
the troops to crush the aggressors. In May 1944 on orders from  
the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Commu-  
nist Party of the Bolsheviks a meeting of the members of the mi-  
litary councils of the fronts was held, at which plans were  
made concerning the political leadership of the troops and streng-  
thening the international training of the soldiers.

The political organs and Party organizations began to extensive-  
ly familiarize the personnel with the features of historical  
development, the social and governmental structure of the lib-  
erated nations, the disposition and relationship of the class  
forces, the traditions and way of life of the population. The  
soldiers were given explanations about the more important docu-  
ments of the Soviet government and the decree of the State De-  
fense Committee concerning the goals for the entry of Soviet  
troops into the territory of a given country. These documents  
always emphasized that the USSR was not seeking to acquire new  
territory, but was governed by the sole purpose of achieving a  
complete and final defeat of the fascist aggressor.

When Soviet troops entered Poland, the commanders and political  
workers gave lectures and reports on the history of Poland and  
its economy, on Soviet-Polish relations, and familiarized them  
with the geographical features of the south-eastern regions of  
the country, where the 38th Army was to advance. All of these  
matters were given much attention in conversations in the sub-  
units.

Finally, Soviet troops saw for themselves the dismal remains of  
the fascist heavy handedness in Poland and the joy that encom-  
passed the local population upon liberation. All of this rein-  
forced for the personnel an awareness of their great internation-  
al duty, a readiness with all energy and persistence to conti-  
nue the struggle to deliver the enslaved people from the yoke  
of the Hitlerist aggressors.

Under the banner of the Party of Lenin the Soviet soldiers fought bravely, freeing the nations of Central and South Eastern Europe from the fascist occupiers. The troops of the 38th Army alone brought freedom to the residents of thousands of villages and cities in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In bitter battles with fascism the foundations of the combat cooperation of our and the allied armies of Central and South Eastern Europe were laid. Strong bonds of combat brotherhood linked the soldiers of the 38th Army with the Czech soldiers and officers. Even in the battles to liberate Kiev the first Czech Infantry Brigade was subordinated to the Army. The troops and commanders of the First Czech Army Corps, who stormed the Carpathian passes shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet soldiers, demonstrated greatest valor and persistence. In the final days of the war on behalf of the indissoluble brotherhood the 38th Army presented to the Peoples' Army of Czechoslovakia a large number of weapons and military equipment that had been taken from the hitlerites.

The joint struggle with fascism enriched the content of Party-political work. Much attention in the work of the political organs and Party organizations was devoted to explaining to the personnel about the need of combat cooperation with the soldiers of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other European nations that were fighting against the hitlerist occupiers and the meaning of the international duty that Lenin had bequeathed. Soviet soldiers generously shared combat experience with their comrades in arms.

The Soviet command, in carrying out the requirements of the Party and government, did everything it could to hasten the defeat the enemy and when possible to prevent the destruction of villages and cities and to save the lives of people. I was a witness of the forced march of a mobile group of the 38th Army, which along with other formations of the front was given the job of reaching Prague as quickly as possible to save it from the hitlerites, who intended to drown the city in blood.

It is difficult to express the exceptional enthusiasm that seized the people. The infantry in motor vehicles, tanks and self-propelled artillery pieces, bypassing the strong points of the hitlerites, literally rushed to the aid of the people of Prague. And here they were 150 kilometers behind. On the march they crushed the hitlerist units that they encountered; the Soviet troops then broke into the outskirts of the Czech capitol where they met advance detachments of the first Ukrainian front.

The Czech capitol rejoiced. On the balconies of the houses, on the roofs and towers flew the three-colored national flags and beside them were the scarlet Soviet banners.



In expressing their warm gratitude to the Soviet people and their army for liberating them from the fascist yoke, the residents of Prague enthusiastically greeted our soldiers. They threw flowers at the vehicles, embraced the soldiers and officers, firmly shook their hands and invited them to their homes for a holiday meal. Mothers raised their children as high as possible so that they see better and remember forever their liberators. In the streets and squares there were spontaneous meetings. Music was heard and happy songs were raised and everywhere could be heard, "Long live the Red Army!"

The Soviet soldiers proudly bore throughout the nations of Europe the combat banners of the army of liberation, educated by the Communist Party in the spirit of internationalism and brotherhood with the workers of all nations. They strictly observed the appropriate agreements about interrelations with local organs of authority and won the sincere gratitude of the population with their noble behavior.

The humane attitude toward the population, the constant readiness to come to the aid of the women, children and elderly who had suffered from the war, the kindness of spirit and generosity of the Soviet soldiers won the hearts of those who had been liberated from fascism. Even people who had been cautioned, while attentively observing and analyzing the actions of the Soviet soldiers, repudiated the fabrications of the Goebel propaganda concerning the "atrocities of the bolsheviks", and came to the conclusion that only a most advanced and truly humane social order could raise and train such soldiers.

In celebrating each year Victory Day over German fascism, the peoples of many nations of Central and South-Eastern Europe celebrate their own day of liberation, which marked the opening of an historical path to progress. Under the influence of the victories of the Soviet Army from the anti-fascist Resistance movement in many nations that had been liberated from fascist enslavement there have been revolutions. From the first days of the building of a new life for the workers of nations that had pursued socialism, the Soviet Union became the bulwark, without which the working class would find it difficult to retain power in conditions of the onslaught of imperialist reaction.

Victory over the fascist aggressors increased the international authority of the Soviet Union and its army. In the heroic accomplishments of the Great Fatherland War our social and governmental system, the Leninist policy of the Communist Party, which directed all efforts of the army and the people, the front and rear at defeating the enemy, displayed their tenacity of life. L.I. Brezhnev notes, "When the red banner which was raised by the Soviet soldiers was flying over the Reichstag, it

was not just a banner of our military victory. It was the immortal banner of the October Revolution; it was the great banner of Lenin; it was the invincible banner of socialism - a bright symbol of hope, a symbol of freedom and happiness of all peoples."

The Soviet people, in celebrating the 35th Anniversary of the Great Victory, pay tribute with deep respect to the heroes, who bore the burden of war on their shoulders. The Fatherland will never forget the feats of the Soviet soldiers, partisans and members of the underground, the selfless labor of the workers, farmers, intelligentsia and everyone who fought on the front and in the rear for the freedom and independence of the socialist Fatherland.

With each year that separates us from the Great Victory, more and more new detachments of young people enter life, who know of the Great Fatherland War only from stories, books and movies and who are aware of the price that was paid for our victory. To help young people to more quickly know their place in the formation of those who fight for communism and to bear the heroic legacy of the older generations is the high duty of Party, soviet and komsomol organizations. Their concern for raising the effectiveness of patriotic education and improving the initial military training of young people is an important means for strengthening the defense of the nation. The ideological and moral foundation that the future soldiers receive in the family and in school, in the plant and in the kolkhoz, in the organizations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League and the Voluntary Society for Collaboration with the Army, Air Force and Navy, help them to conscientiously fulfill the sacred duty of a defender of the Fatherland.

The patriotic training of workers depends upon the entire spiritual potential of Soviet society and upon all the richness of socialist culture. At the same time particular importance is attached to the heroic-patriotic theme and to compositions which disclose the rich inner world of the Soviet man, fighter and victor.

The Soviet artist, who draws attention to the heroic-patriotic theme, does not need to resort to made-up situations and legends having no real basis. In the very history of the great battle with fascism he can discover and is discovering the truly rich evidence of the beauty and greatness of spirit of the Soviet man and his selfless actions.

Soviet literature in casting light upon the heroic-patriotic theme has attained a maturity which makes it possible to solve increasingly complicated tasks in artistic interpretation of mass heroism, demonstrated by Soviet soldiers in battles with

the German-fascist aggressors, the spiritual aspect of the defenders of the Fatherland, who carry out their patriotic and international duty. Today a requirement is felt to create artistic models who could stand beside such heroes as Chapaev, Pavel Korchagin, Aleksandr Matrosov, the young guards, Aleksey Meres'yev and many others.

One must not forget that our ideological enemies continue to falsify the course and outcomes of WWII and to show in distorted form the combat deeds of the Soviet soldier. In many cases the feats of our people are explained as phenomena of sacrifice dismissed from social specificity.

Soviet artistic creativity actively takes a stand against any insinuations of a class enemy trying to distort the truth about the great feat of the Soviet people and their soldiers in the past war. The role of socialist art in the battle of ideas in present day conditions is increasing. This is seen in the aggressive nature of Marxist-Leninist ideology and morality of a new society, which assert the high spiritual values of the communist.

The soldiers and sailors of the army and navy are deserving of the attention of all people, including the attention of writers, artists, composers and all those in the arts. In response to the concern of the Party and people for the Armed Forces they are steadily improving their political and military knowledge, learning to use weapons and equipment and studying military affairs in the true manner - as V.I. Lenin bid.

Soviet soldiers fittingly celebrating the 35th Anniversary of the Great Victory. Their faithfulness to the Leninist banner, their Party, people and the combat praise of the older generations of defenders of the Fatherland, the victors over fascism, are seen in the intense military labor, in the growth of those who excell in combat and political training and graded specialists. In the army and navy socialist competitions are used extensively under the slogan "Religiously carry out Leninist biddings, improve combat and political training, raise vigilance, always be ready to defend the Fatherland and the great gains of socialism." It induces soldiers to master complicated combat equipment and weapons and to develop within themselves the qualities needed for victory in battle.

The Soviet Armed Forces in a united formation with the armies of the governments of socialist cooperation are reliably protecting the gains of socialism from the aggressive intrigues of imperialistic reaction. The combined power of the nations - participants in the Warsaw Pact, which will be 25 years old in May, serves as a solid foundation for the security of the people who are building a new life.

In present conditions, when through the fault of the imperialist circles the world situation has noticeably grown more complicated, when the NATO generals are strengthening military preparations, the eye must be particularly sharp and the combat training of the defenders of socialism must be high. The constant combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces is a most important factor in ensuring favorable conditions for the building of communism on our earth so that the life of the Soviet people can become richer and brighter.

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#### VETERANS' BENEFITS: ADDITIONAL BENEFITS

Saratov STEPNNYYE PROSTORY in Russian No 5, May 80 signed to press 6 May 80 p 29

[Article by L. Ya. Florentyev, Minister of Agriculture RSFSR]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a resolution "On Supplementary Measures for the Improvement of Living Conditions of Participants in the Great Fatherland War".

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have resolved:

1. To additionally grant to invalids of the Fatherland War the following privileges:

a) to grant to invalids of groups I and II the right to one free round trip per year by railway or on ships of transit and local lines of the river fleet;

b) to grant to invalids of group III and members of their families residing with them a 50 percent reduction in rent and established charges for heat, water, gas, and electricity; and to those living in houses without central heating, in the cost of fuel purchased within the limits established for sale to the population.

c) to free invalids of group III from payment of income tax on wages received, regardless of amount;

d) to increase by 10 percent payments of pensions for disability to invalids of groups I and II who were first-term of career servicemen; privates NCOs and warrant officers, within the established maximum limits.

2. To recognize as necessary an increase in the minimum disability pension for group III invalids of the Fatherland War who were first-term privates, from 33 to 40 rubles per month. To introduce into the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft Ukase on this question.

3. To grant a 50 percent reduction in the amount of income tax on wages to participants in the Civil and Great Fatherland Wars, and in other combat operations in defense of the USSR, who were military servicemen who completed service in troop units, staffs or establishments forming a part of the active army and partisans.

4. To broaden the action of point 2 of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 30 June 1978 number 548 "On Some Improvement in the Provision of Pensions to Participants in the Civil and Great Fatherland Wars Who Were Members of the Officer Corps" to participants in the Civil and Great Fatherland Wars and other combat operations in defense of the Soviet Union who were members of the officer corps and who are receiving a pension for 25 or more years of service, or who have the right to a pension because of age.

5. To establish that participants in the Great Fatherland War who were military servicemen having completed service in troop units, staffs or establishments forming a part of the active army and partisans enjoy the right to preference in the provision of living space.

6. To establish that the privileges set forth in points one and two of the present resolution are extended to invalids who were military servicemen, who became invalids as a result of wounds, injuries or disabilities received in defense of the Soviet Union, or in the line of military duty, or as a result of illness connected with service at the front; and also to officers and enlisted men of the organs of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, who became invalids as result of wounds, injuries or disabilities received in the line of official duty.

The present resolution enters into force as of 1 May 1980.

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VICTORY DAY ARTICLE: ADMIRAL BOROKIN

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 5, May 80 signed to press 8 May 80 pp 62-73

[Article by Adm A. I. Borokin, member of military council, chief of navy political directorate: "The Leadership of the CPSU--Source of Might of the Soviet Armed Forces and the Strength of the Country's Defense"]

[Excerpts] The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," states: "The victory of the Soviet people over fascism in the years of the Great Patriotic War had a tremendous revolutionizing effect on the fates of all mankind."<sup>21</sup> The further expansion of the front of social progress occurred as a result of fascism's crushing defeat with the decisive role of the Soviet Union. The possibilities for victorious socialist revolutions arose and were realized in an entire number of countries of Europe and Asia.

Imperialism answered the emergence of socialism beyond the framework of one state and the formation of the world socialist system and the mighty wave of socio-political changes which encompassed all continents of the Earth with preparations for a new war, counting on taking revenge in it for lost battles. The center of world reaction moved to the United States. American imperialism openly proclaimed an aggressive political course and unleashed the "cold war" against the socialist world in the postwar years which, according to the thoughts of its inspirers, was to prepare the ground to again throw the force of arms on the scales of history. As regards the immediate goals of the politicians across the ocean, they intended to interfere in the postwar restoration of the national economy in the Soviet Union and to erect obstacles in the path of peaceful creation before it and the other socialist countries. But imperialism could not determine the course of events this time, either.

The Soviet people-victor disclosed with tremendous impressive force the qualities of the people-creator. Their heroic labor raised cities and

<sup>21</sup> "O 110-y godovshchine so dnya rojdeniya Vladimira Il'icha Lenina" [On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin]. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 13 December 1979. Moscow, 1980, p 5.

villages from the ruins of a destructive war and transformed the fatherland into an even mightier, flourishing socialist power. Thanks to the wise policy of the Communist Party, which is based on the economic and defensive might of the country and its spiritual potential, the Soviet people have been living under conditions of peace for three and a half decades.

The CPSU adopted the measures necessary to ensure the peaceful development of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries and to strengthen the security of all peoples. The imperialists received a proper response to the unprecedented buildup of armaments and the creation of an arsenal for nuclear attack. Operating from positions of patriotic and international responsibility, the Communist Party was concerned about equipping the Soviet Armed Forces with all contemporary means for armed conflict. The Strategic Missile Forces were created. The Ground Forces, National Air Defense Forces, Air Forces, and Navy were reequipped with contemporary armament. The depth of these transformations is vividly evidenced by the creation of an ocean-going fleet in the USSR which is capable of accomplishing important missions in times of peace and war. Nuclear missile submarines--the carriers of powerful long-range missiles--became the basis of its combat power. The party's Central Committee adopted the necessary measures for using the achievements of science and technology in the interests of the country's defense. Outstanding credit in the creation of missile technology belongs to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev who participated most directly in the organization of its industrial and experimental base.<sup>22</sup>

In their combat capabilities, the Soviet Armed Forces have greatly surpassed the level at which they found themselves at the end of the Great Patriotic War. But the USSR remained a champion of peace. Its foreign policy is directed toward the strengthening of international security.

Our party's sincere interest in preserving and strengthening peaceful relations between states and its consistent struggle to implement the foreign-policy program put forth by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses permitted doing much for the relaxation of international tension. The tragic cycle in which mankind found itself, world war--brief breathing spell--again world war, was broken.

However, by the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's the situation had become noticeably more complex. Reactionary circles of the United States set forth an speeding up the long-term armaments programs, on creating an additional number of military bases far beyond the limits of the United States, and on forming the so-called rapid deployment force--that tool for a policy of military interference. NATO's decision concerning the emplacement of new American medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of West European countries aroused the signal for the next round in the arms race. The President of the United States, J. Carter, played new reliance on American world domination in a statement broadcast from the White House for 1980--the year of presidential elections. USA, which entered into an alliance with imperialism and

<sup>22</sup> See "Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev." A brief biographical sketch. Moscow, 1975, p. 28.



is increasing its military potential, to include nuclear, at an accelerated rate, switched to the path of direct expansionist actions. Enemies of peace and detente try to use events in Afghanistan as a smokescreen for their subversive actions as they strive to block international efforts to reduce the military danger.

The tested Leninist course of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, which combines consistent peaceableness with the firm rebuffing of aggression, is completely justifying itself under contemporary conditions.

V. I. Lenin bade treasuring the defensive capability of the Soviet state as the apple of our eye. He repeatedly reminded the people about the true aggressive essence of imperialism's nature and that the military preparations of the capitalist powers require us "again and again to place in first place on the agenda the question of strengthening the army and again and again reviewing whether we have done enough and what new measures we can and must undertake."<sup>23</sup>

The Soviet Army today is an army of a country of developed socialism which is closely linked by the bonds of proletarian solidarity with the armies of the fraternal socialist states which marked the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact on Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance this year. "Our forces and capabilities," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in a pre-election speech on 22 February 1980, "are tremendous. We and our allies are always able to stand up for ourselves and rebuff any hostile surprise attacks."<sup>24</sup>

The contemporary combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces is not only the result of their entire preceding development. In considerable measure, it is the result of the work done in recent years in the course of implementing the decisions of the 23d, 24th, and 25th CPSU Congresses. Life provides newer and newer convincing confirmation of the steady growth of the Communist Party's role in military organizational development. "Raising the level of party leadership of all the Armed Forces' activity and their development," noted member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet Minister of Defense, Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade D. F. Ustinov, "is caused by the complexity of the international situation as well as by complication of the tasks for military organizational development at the contemporary stage and the increased requirements for combat and political training and the combat readiness of the Armed Forces."<sup>25</sup>

There is not one area in the strengthening of the Armed Forces and the country's defense where the mobilizing and directing activity of the Communist Party, its Central Committee, and the Central Committee's Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev would not bear fruit. Greatest significance for

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<sup>23</sup> V. I. Lenin. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 37, p 128.

<sup>24</sup> L. I. Brezhnev. "Nash kurs--mirnoye sozidaniye" [Our Course--Peaceful Creation], Moscow, 1980, p 14.

<sup>25</sup> D. F. Ustinov. "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles]. Moscow, 1979, p 323.

the correct theoretical and practical solution of problems in the defense of the socialist fatherland on the basis of the Lenin methodology is had by the propositions and conclusions contained in the reports, speeches, and works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and his instructions when visiting military districts, groups of forces, and fleets. Whatever element of combat power of the Soviet Armed Forces one may take, in all cases its tie with party-political work, with the activity of the military councils, commanders, political organs, and party organizations, and with the personal contribution of each communist of the Armed Forces in the accomplishment of party policy is clearly manifested.

Thanks to the tireless concern and attention of the CPSU, its Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally, in recent years further development was received by questions connected with improving the structure of the Soviet Armed Forces' party-political apparatus, the training of cadres of political officers, and further improvement of party-political work. This includes the formation of the political directorates of the Armed Forces services, introduction of the institution of deputy commander for political affairs of companies and subunits equal to them, the creation of a system of higher military-political schools, and many other important measures.

The requirements concerning the vanguard role of the communists which have been tested in battles also remain in force in peacetime. Being the truly cementing force of the Armed Forces ranks, the communists participate actively in the army-wide socialist competition and are working selflessly on the decisive sectors of combat readiness. They direct the creative energy of the Komsomols and all personnel of the units and ships for the struggle for the high quality of field, aerial, and sea ability, for strengthening discipline, and for the solidarity of the troop collectives.

The main content of the CPSU's ideological activity is the development of the masses' consciousness and their indoctrination in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In the communist indoctrination of the men, the party organizations of the Soviet Armed Forces are guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrinational Work." Commanders, political officers, and all Armed Forces communists strictly follow the lines and instructions of the CPSU Central Committee in the matter of improving propaganda and agitation and all party-political work.

Thanks to the purposeful organizational and ideological activity of the party, the Soviet Armed Forces are not only a reliable weapon for the defense of the fatherland against external enemies, but also, in many respects, a remarkable school for indoctrinating the youth. The CPSU Central Committee is manifesting constant concern for intensifying the indoctrinational role of the Armed Forces.

The decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, imbued with concern for strengthening peace and the country's defense, require the application of tireless efforts for the further

improvement of the military-patriotic indoctrination of all Soviet people. The Communist Party treasures highly work with the youth of the Lenin Komsomol, organs of popular education, sports, and other public organizations. The propagandizing of military knowledge and explanation of V. I. Lenin's military-theoretical heritage and the exploit of the Soviet people in the years of the Great Patriotic War occupy a prominent place in the activity of the all-union "Znaniye" [Knowledge] society. Very important and useful mass-defensive work is conducted by DOSAAF whose numerical strength grew to 80 million people. Now, one out of every three draftees receives in the society's organizations the professional training which is necessary for the Armed Forces. The content of military-sponsorship work is continuously being enriched.

The military-patriotic indoctrination which the party, soviet, and public organizations are conducting is developing in the youth the striving to acquire the knowledge and moral qualities which the motherland's defender requires even before being called up to the ranks of the Armed Forces. Furthermore, it includes problems which go far beyond the framework of training the youth for military service. Military-patriotic indoctrination is an integral aspect of all the party's ideological activity and its ideological-indoctrinational work with all groups of workers. It is molding in each Soviet person boundless devotion to the fatherland, readiness and the ability to defend it, responsiveness to the fate of other peoples, and firm resolve to help them to defend justice, freedom, and social progress at a difficult hour. It is instilling in the present generation of builders and defenders of the new society pride in the combat achievements of the Soviet people which have worldwide and historic significance, vigilance in regard to the intrigues of the enemies of peace and socialism, and confidence in the ability of the Soviet state to stand up in any tests.

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